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This thorough observer of the primitive Timbira commits a single blunder in regarding his "Timbira of the lower Mearim" as of the same tribe as the Guajajára, instead of affiliating the latter with the Indians he had seen in the village of Vianna, whom he suspected, correctly enough, of kinship with the Tupinambá. At the opening of the nineteenth century the Guajajára of the middle Pindaré had probably been cut off from all contact with civilization by the warlike Gamella of Vianna and the Timbira of the lower Mearim, Grajahú, and Pindaré, so that they were known only by name. For in 1820 Pereira do Lago, too, confuses them with the Timbira in question; and Martius' statements concerning this Tupí people are extraordinarily contradictory. Now he treats them as descendants of the Tobajara, then he equates them with the Buco-Bûs, that is, Pųkóbye; and finally they turn into a horde of Mundurucú."

Critique of Martius.—Unfortunately Martius' personal contacts with Timbira were limited to a brief meeting with a troop of some twenty Krahõ' and Apą'nyekra who were visiting the town of Caxias in 1819. In his masterly fashion he describes the impressive appearance and behavior of these Indians, establishing the complete similarity of both tribes as to looks, manners and speech. All his other statements about the Timbira, as well as other Maranhão tribes, were derived from personal communications by Ribeiro and by Luiz de Oliveira Figueiredo, who had for seven years served as judge in Caxias."

Subsequently Martius for the first time determined the linguistic and cultural affinity of the Timbira with a considerable number of other tribes in Goyaz and the adjoining districts of Maranhão, Bahia, Piauhy, and Pará. All these he grouped together as Gêz, recognizing a Southern branch, viz. the [Southern] Cayapós, Chavantes, Cherentes, and Chicriabás; and a Northern branch, viz. Gêz proper, Crans, and Acroás. As members of the stock he further included the Masacará, Aracujá, Pontás, Geicós, and Gogués."

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The dichotomy rests on the ending of the tribal names, either -gêz (=ye) or -crans (=kra). In contrast to Ribeiro, Martius defines only the latter as Timbira. He further considers it likely that the Crans were the "sons"—a recent offshoot—of the "paternal" Gêz proper. For, he argues, the Crans occupy the northernmost tracts (which is the precise reverse of the contention in his other work)," while the Gê stock as a whole had undoubtedly moved from the south northward. He further tried to derive certain Cran "clan" names from Gêz equivalents.

It seems worth while to examine these conjectures, for which purpose we may first of all determine the meaning attached to the terms Timbira, Cran, and Gêz.

According to Martius, the term Timbira is referred by some to the custom of wearing tight armlets and footbands of bast (=embira, imbira), but he himself is inclined rather to derive the word from tembetá, tembetara, the Tupí term for a lip plug. Apart from the phonetic impossibility of deriving the term Timbira from tembetara, only a small section of the Timbira branch perforated the lower lip. Ribeiro had already separated the Gamella, who were conspicuously labret wearers, from the Timbira, with whom Martius, to be sure, erroneously classes them. On the other hand, the earplug is indeed a tribal badge of the Timbira, but (contrary to Martius' apparent assumption) the word for labret cannot be extended to these ornaments, for it is derived from tembé, lower lip. Nor will imbira, the designation

[14] Martius, Beiträge, 1:193, 286, 394.
[15] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:818–825.
[16] Martius, Beiträge, 1:257 f.
[17] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:823.

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for bast in the northern lingua geral, serve the purpose since it leaves the initial T unaccounted for.

I, too, assume a reference to the bands these people wear—not only on their arms and feet, but also below the knee, on the wrists, around the neck, the chest, and the forehead. However, the name is not derived from imbira, bast, but is a compound of tĩ, to bind, and pį'ra, passive, with the initial "p" of the second element transmuted into "mb" because of the preceding nasal vowel. Thus, the term Timbira would correspond to "the bound ones,"—but only on the assumption that the tribal name is of Tupí origin, which cannot be treated as a priori certain.

Cran or rather kra does mean "son," but also "tribe" or "people." For example: ampó kra ma ka, Of what tribe are you? i pe Apą'nyekra, I am of the Piranha tribe. However, in the formation of tribal names this kra is commonly preceded by the particle kame, of which me- precedes only nouns referring to human beings, while I am not very clear as to the manifold uses of ka.

Gêz is the rather infelicitous Portuguese rendering of the suffix ye (Apinayé ya) in Timbira speech. It terminates only designations of kinship, social functions, and tribal names of the Timbira. In the two latter instances it is generally, though not invariably, preceded by kate. This suffix designates the person owning the thing expressed by the noun. Frequently the meaning becomes locative.

In other words, whether a tribal name ends in -kra or -ye depends solely on the meaning of the substantive used. The -ye tribes cannot be separated from the -kra tribes, nor can either group be legitimately made to descend from the other. Ribeiro remained quite free from this error. Actually, the Timbira of Cajuapára are called indiscriminately Pihą'kamekra or Krẽyé; while the Krahõ'. are subdivided into the Mąkamekra (mą, ostrich; ostrich people) and Kenpókateye (kenpo, flat rock; people of the flat rock).

Martius is equally in error in deriving certain kra names from ye equivalents. The names Piocabgêz and Piocamecrans are unrelated: the former is derived from pųkób, yam (*Dioscorea* sp.), the latter from pihą', weaverbird (*Cassicus* sp.). Similarly, the term Poncatagêz is traceable to põ (steppe), Ponierans to apą'n (piranha [*Serrasalmo* sp.]). The illegitimacy of Martius' criteria for assuming a Bûs subdivision has been set forth elsewhere.[10]

Finally, the settlers' division of the branch into Timbira da Matta, Timbira de Canella fina, and Timbira de Bocca furada obviously cannot be taken seriously for ethnological purposes. Martius himself, in volume 1 of his Beiträge, puts the Aponegicrans (= Apą'nyekra) into the first of these groups, while in his second volume they figure as Timbira de Canella fina. Of the contemporary Gaviões, one group lives in the Amazon forests, the other on the steppe.

The discovery of the Gê stock in a wider sense is exclusively Martius' merit since he owed nothing to any predecessor. But his subdivision into Gêz proper, Crans, and Bûs rests on unacceptable principles.

Critique of Von den Steinen and Ehrenreich.—In 1886 Karl von den Steinen studied Gê languages, which he grouped together with the Botocudo and Goytacá to form the Tapuya family. In this examination he considered only tribes for which linguistic material was then available. His subgroup of Western and Northern Gê embraces the Suyá, Apinayé, Apą'nyekra, the [Southern] Kayapó, and the Krahõ'. He further adds the Karayá, an allocation unconfirmed by any of his successors. His Central Gê comprise the Šavánte, Šerénte, Šakriaba, and Akroá; he does not so much as mention the Jaicó. Except for the allocation of the Karayá, Von den Stei-

[10] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 5 f.

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constantly pushed northward. During my first stay in Alcobaça (1926) I already heard of hostile Indians in the vicinity of the Caxoeira dos Guaribas (4° S. latitude), but those I saw at the time at Mundurueú, somewhat below these falls, belonged to the Amanayé tribe (of Tupí stock) and had come from the Mojú. In February 1930, when I once more ascended the Tocantins, a new attack had occurred precisely at these rapids, on the Ribeirão Pitinga. The arrows gathered from the site were indistinguishable from the Gaviões type.

However, the present headquarters of the tribe are placed in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Jacundá. This rivulet, not to be confounded with its namesake near the Caxoeira Itaboca, flows from the north emptying into the Tocantins a mile downstream from São João do Araguaya. Upstream they still range along the east bank of the Tocantins about as far as Cocal, three miles beyond the mouth of the Araguaya; in the interior they are said to extend somewhat farther to the east. Their camps have been encountered on the headwaters of the Rio Mojú, which extend much farther south—beyond 4° S. latitude—than the maps indicate. Moreover, the plantations of the Amanayé on the Ararandéua (the western source of the Capim) have been invaded by natives who, judging from the arrows discharged, could only have been Gaviões. Oddly enough, the victimized Tupí tribe calls them Warayú, a name already connected with this area on Father Samuel Frič's map of 1695. The Akwẽ designate all alien tribes as Worazu.

I have never heard of any Gaviões invasion of the region about the forked sources of the Gurupy, a district partly unsettled, partly occupied by the Krẽyé and the Tembé (Tupí). Prior to their migration into the Capim area, the Amanayé used to live on the east fork (the Cajuapára) and later on the middle fork (the Tucumandí). Snethlage is misinformed in speaking of wild Gaviões *or* Urubú in the region of the Gurupy headwaters and in identifying these people with the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and the Timbira of Araparytíua, whom I myself had once erroneously designated as Mehí.[a] The habitat of the Urubú, whom Snethlage correctly classes as Tupí in connection with their attack on Redondo on the Maracassumé,[a] lies between the Gurupy and the Pindaré; they have never gone beyond the Gurupy-Mirim confluence, 3° 40′ S. latitude. Thus, the Gaviões and Urubú were not even immediate neighbors, for they were separated along the Gurupy by the main body of Tembé in ten villages (1914).

Except for a few words, inadequately enough recorded by Moura in 1896 and by Manoel da Matta in 1912, nothing is known about the language of the Western Gaviões. In many respects they seem to differ from the Pụkóbye of the Grajahú steppe. Whether they actually perforate the lower lip, as some allege, has not been definitely determined. On the other hand, though they do pierce the lobe of the ear, they certainly do not wear the large earplugs of the Pụkóbye and other Timbira, nor do they cut their hair so as to produce the characteristically Timbira furrow. In their woods the above-mentioned unsuccessful punitive expedition saw wide, straight streets, which suggest the universal Timbira practice of log racing. There has likewise been found a girdle with rattling tapir hoofs of the type worn by the other tribes in their races.

The Western Gaviões are the only Timbira still living free and unconfined. Their investigation would be of extraordinary significance for the illumination of Timbira culture, but could only become possible by a lucky fluke, for no one knows when or where they will get to the river bank, and to search for them in the interior

[a] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 114, 142.
[a] *Idem.*, Meine Reise, 113.

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In 1913 I met the same Luiz Ka'tą'm in Rio de Janeiro at the chief office of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios and also took down samples of his language. He told me, too, that he was a Krahõ' and was living on the Manoel Alves Pequeño, where the villages of this tribe, including Gamelleira, are actually situated. Today I am certain that he was not a Krahõ', but an Apinayé from Bacaba, as clearly proved by his name, his perforated lower lip, and the vocabulary. His mendacious statements were made in order to establish his citizenship in Bahia, with claims to support from the government of that state. When once known to the outside world as a Krahõ', he deemed it wiser to persist in the pretense in order to guard against the contingency of being recognized by some Bahian in Rio.

The Krahõ' have never lived on the Rio Preto or elsewhere in Bahia. Both Sampaio's and my own vocabulary of 1913 are useless as samples of Krahõ' speech, for both represent pure Apinayé, while (as Martius noted in 1819 when recording his Aponegieran word list) the Krahõ' dialect wholly coincides with that of the Canella.

What little information Luiz Ka'tą'm dropped concerning the customs of his people in speaking with Sampaio either applies exclusively to the Apinayé (burity carrying girdle for children, assistance rendered at rapids) or is incorrect (stone knives, transport of fire in pottery). Sampaio's vocabulary also contains a comical blunder: "soul" (Portuguese alma) = catonço; but katõk actually signifies firearms (Port. arma). Equally unreliable is the localization of Gê tribes on his map.

In 1926 Snethlage met several Krahõ' in Carolina and with their aid took down a list of seventy words. In April and May 1930, when I lived among this tribe, I dispensed with obtaining a special vocabulary because of the manifest identity of Krahõ' with the Rąmkõ'kamekra dialect.

I was able to ascertain that the tribe, which now lives in the district of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño, between 8° and 9° S. latitude, has two subdivisions, a northern and a southern.

The southern group, which bears the name of Mąkamekra (ostrich tribe), had had its village first on the Gamelleira, then on the Donzella, these being brooks tributary to the upper Manoel Alves Pequeño. A short time before my visit, however, the pressure of the near-by fazendeiros had caused a split, each half now living separately under the chiefs Secundo and Bernardino, respectively, around the headwaters of that river. A friend of the Indians long resident in their vicinity, Santo Moreira, tried hard to prop up the tottering community and to defend the last bit of Indian land against the intruding stockbreeders. But the wiles and calumny of his opponents, with whom the despicable chief Secundo was in league, thwarted all his efforts.

The other subdivision, inhabiting the aldeas of Pedra Branca (pl. 1, *a*) and Pedra Furada some fifty kilometers to the north, on right affluents of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño, is called Kenpókateye, that is, those of the flat rock. For the time being two villages of seventeen and sixteen houses, respectively, remain closely knit communities which are still organized up to a certain point in ancient Timbira fashion. To be sure, the Brazilian Baptist missionaries stationed near Pedra Furada are exerting themselves to break up the old organization. They wish to settle the Indians according to the missionaries' notions of a colony, with abolition of log racing, etc. But since the influence of this mission is clearly very slight, the hope remains that these plans, whose realization would signify the beginning of the end for the Krahõ' will not be executed in the immediate future.

In 1930 the surviving Mąkamekra numbered close to 100; the two Kenpókateye villages may be set at 150 souls each, so that the entire Krahõ' tribe may be estimated at 400.

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II. ECOLOGY

Settlements and Houses

361 182 *Settlements.*—One of the most characteristic features of Timbira culture—in the natives' own opinion—is the circular village plan. So long as their aboriginal life retains a spark of vitality they cling to this mode of settlement, which is most intimately bound up with their socioceremonial organization. Notwithstanding their ignorance of Indian usage, the Baptist missionaries in Brazil correctly recognized the social significance of this feature and did their utmost to effect its abandonment; for as long as it survives the ancient social order, too, lives on, and within that there is no place for missionaries. When the Canella transplanted their village to the site of Ponto in 1924, the Indian agent in Barra do Corda likewise tried to convince them that straight streets were far more beautiful, but he had the good sense to desist when the Indians vigorously spurned the proposal.

361 171 114 Snethlage has it that Pereira do Lago ascribes circular villages to the Gamella of Vianna, and Ferreira Gomes to the Krahõ', while Ribeiro is supposed to credit a semilunar form to the Timbira of Goyaz.[113] Actually Pereira merely reports round Gamella *huts*, without saying a word about their arrangement. Ribeiro, on the other hand, after stating that the Timbira encampments and settlements were invariably circular, goes on to say: "Alguns Indios de Goyaz edificam em meias lua." This doubtless refers to the horseshoe shape of Savánte-Serénte villages. Finally, Ferreira Gomes, though mentioning circular settlements for the Krẽyé (then still near Imperatriz), never got to see any Krahõ', as he explicitly states: "... tres aldeas de indigenos mansos os quaes não foram vistos por mim .... estes indigenas são de duas nações, caraús e chavantes."[114]

361 183 The village (krĩ) site must fulfill the following conditions:

1. It must be level. Since level ground of adequate extent is hardly to be found on the slope in the direction of the watercourses, the villages are all situated on the level of the steppe, usually at the end of a spur projecting into the angle between two converging streams.

2. The ground should be neither rocky nor sandy, but represent an outcrop of hard clay, for on sand or rubble barefoot folk cannot dance in comfort, especially if they indulge with Timbira perseverance.

3. The site must not be too far from the water supply, though a difference of a kilometer does not matter.

4. There must be an adequate *galeria* forest near by to provide clearings for a number of years. When the annual tree-felling has deforested the land to the distance of, say, twelve kilometers from the village, the settlement is transferred to a new site that has a sufficiency of timber in the vicinity.

5. Finally, attention is paid to freedom from fever, in which respect the Timbira steppes are, as a rule, favorably situated.

361 363 621 Ponto may serve as a typical steppe Timbira settlement. To be sure, its form lacks the geometrical perfection credited to it in Fróes Abreu's plan, and this author likewise fails to indicate that the village is elevated above the plain.[115] In 1930 it comprised thirty-one houses (ikré), all of whose broad sides faced the plaza. The diameter of the circle was 300 m. Along the front façade of the houses there extends all around the plaza a street (krĩkapẽ') of irregular width; it shall henceforth be designated as the "boulevard" (fig. 1). Its minimum width may be set at about 7 m. In front of the houses of the two vu'tẽ' girls (see p. 92), which always lie opposite each other, the boulevard expands into a small dance ground. Because of

[113] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 152.
[114] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 490, 495.
[115] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 99, 168.

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used to sit on. In the plaza it is common to sit or lie on the bare ground, though some regularly bring along a mat to rest on, others making a flat club into a little bench. But beams as seats placed at the periphery of the plaza I saw only among the Kre'pų'mkateye.

The platform bed is universal among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Apą'nyekra, and Krahõ', but Snethlage misunderstands Silva e Souza when citing him to support its use among the Southern Kayapó. That author merely reports "arranchamentos com 400 camas," which last word may designate a sleeping facility on the ground as well as on furniture. Snethlage also misquotes me on the subject of hammocks; these are not in vogue among the Krĩkatí, who sleep on mats on the ground and are covered with mats, which partly holds also for the Pųkóbye.[228] He rightly ascribes hammocks to the Kre'pų'mkateye—the only Timbira among whom a number of persons regularly sleep in hammocks. The Krĩkatí, Pųkóbye, and Rąmkõ'kamekra do own a fair number of these contrivances, but exclusively for resting in the daytime, and nearly all of them have been obtained in barter from the near-by Guajajára. The hammocks found among the Krĩkatí and Pųkóbye all come from the quite isolated hamlet of Urucú; the Kre'pų'mkateye obtain theirs from the Guajajára farther up the Grajahú; and the Rąmkõ'kamekra from the settlements of the same tribe beyond the Rio Corda. The last-mentioned Timbira have also obtained some Neobrazilian specimens on their begging trips to state capitals.

In any case, to date the Timbira have never manufactured a single cotton hammock. On the other hand, in their temporary camps they will take but a few minutes to complete a hammock quite serviceable for a few days by interlacing the tips of two burity leaflets. The ropes for suspending this type of hammock are made of the stalks of the two leaves when worn down to a thin strip. Occasionally such hammocks may be seen even in permanent villages, especially among the Krahõ'. Among the Apą'nyekra, Snethlage saw a hammock for little children that had been knotted together from a few bast threads. I noted a rather large sample of this type among the Rąmkõ'kamekra; it consisted of ropes made of the black bark of a *philodendron* species. It was not in the Guajajára twined technique, but rather conformed to that of Timbira scoop nets (pl. 17, *c*), though wider-meshed. The Šerénte rather frequently fasten such hammocks to the branches of trees for hunting from ambush; accordingly, there is no reason to think of diffusion from the Tupí.

Storage.—In two or three Ponto houses there was in one corner an attic with a flooring of poles. It was partitioned off with thatched walls, provided with a small door, and made accessible by a notched tree. This chamber serves for the storage of provisions and of valuables; it is due to Neobrazilian influence. Not a single Timbira tribe has scaffolds for the stowing away of utensils. Except for the attics just described, such objects are thrust into the roof or wall thatch; stuck under the beds; or, in the case of small articles, most commonly suspended in bags and baskets, such as are always available in considerable numbers. For this purpose the house posts are frequently allowed to keep a projecting limb, and the same end is served by the cords that sometimes hang down from the rafters. However, there are no specially designed hooks or crossbeams for suspension.

Fire.—The fireplaces, fixed appurtenances of the dwellings, fall into three categories. First, there is the small fire kept going in the night at the foot of the beds; in the daytime it is not used except possibly for some technological task. Secondly, there is the fireplace with its hearthstones for boiling food; this often coincides with the foregoing,[229] but otherwise is likely to be placed in the unenclosed space

[228] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 155, 116.

[229] This seems contradictory to the preceding statement. *Editor.*

Branca (pl. 1, *a*) the Krahõ' had a similar hut, which stood about three hundred meters behind the circle of houses.

Several Indians engaged in pig breeding had erected well-built roofs 2 m. square under which the beasts could sleep in bad weather if they so chose; they were not forcibly enclosed there. The tame taitetú pigs always used for ceremonial slaughter at certain festivities are kept in cages 1 m. high, which the owners generally put up in front of their houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. A cage consists of upright poles roofed with palm fronds.

The few Indians who raise fowls keep them behind the dwelling in little gable roofs resting directly on the ground and constructed of poles, pieces of bark, and old mats. At night they are barred with pieces of wood. The structure, like the poultry itself, was borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

The exceptional little stall for strangers which the Apą'nyekra put up in Porquinhos has been mentioned (p. 40). No Timbira tribe has a men's or bachelors' house corresponding to the warã of the Akwẽ-Šerénte.[xx] Meetings are held in the plaza outdoors, which is also the general sleeping place of the young men.

Away from the village the Rąmkõ'kamekra, so far as they require any form of shelter, erect the following forms of hut. If the cultivated plots are far away, a hut is put up for the period that requires the owners' presence. Such a structure is not erected in the plantation itself, but in the steppe in front of the *galeria* forest. Usually it is rectangular and gable-roofed, smaller and less massive than the fixed dwellings. However, occasionally the old beehive type (ikré yiróno) occurs—a hemispherical form about 1.80 m. in height inside. The framework consists of eight or more thin trunks stuck into the ground in a circle and bent together at the top, the branches being interlaced into walls, or—rarely—tied together. There are no special horizontal hoops. This skeleton is covered round about with palm fronds, their tips up, their ribs in vertical position; other fronds are laid on top crisscross. This shelter, if carefully set up, is altogether rainproof except for some leakage at the bottom. On one side there is left an entrance 1½ m. in height.

Similar, but as a rule less carefully built, are the huts of temporary encampments, such as all the steppe Timbira erect when large companies of them are hunting or away for some special task. In that case the arrangement of the huts is uniformly circular, all doors facing the center, and the female owners observe the same order that prevails in the village. These huts are made exclusively by the women; even men who camp beyond the settlement without their families never erect such structures (pl. 7, *a*).

The question now arises: Did the Timbira originally have only such beehive huts or did they have larger, substantial dwellings in their fixed villages? Several facts support the latter alternative. The beehive huts cannot accommodate either the regular platform beds or the elevated compartments of the young girls, or an extended family. Further, it would be impossible to shelter the boys in a single house on the east or west side during the first stage of initiation, for even in 1930 there were twice sixteen novices among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, and the number was doubtless larger in former times. It would be equally impossible to put up a special cell in a beehive hut for one or more boys at the terminal phase of initiation. Moreover, a beehive hut could not serve as the meeting place of any of the festive societies, with their membership ranging from 15 to 30; and to an even greater extent does the vų'tę' institution (p. 92) require large houses, for in 1933 the number of men who assembled was 54 and 57, respectively. I am convinced that if all these cere-

[xx] Nimuendajú and Lowie, 408.

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304 881 never seen the victim move a muscle. After going through the same process on the other ear and after smearing urucú over the wounds, the man forthwith puts a cloth over the boy's head and knots it together below his chin. There is no solemnity about the event; half a dozen boys and girls of the type that want to see everything will look on with interest, otherwise no one pays the least attention. But the operator and the patient both must keep a diet and abstain from any hard labor until the wounds are healed. If time is pressing, it happens that half a dozen boys have their ears pierced on one day or within a few days. In that case they jointly take their meals in front of the village, observing their diet. My query as to the material used before cloth came into vogue remained unanswered.

Over a week after the operation, when the wounds are healed, the boy's maternal uncle goes hunting and kills a deer, smokes its flesh outside the village, wraps it in leaves, and places it in a basket. Unannounced he suddenly dashes toward the plaza with his load, drops it there, and departs. At once all the women except those of the boy's household rush out with knives, each trying to snatch away a slice of the game, though because of their great number only a few succeed. There is a regular scrimmage, so that on one occasion a competitor got a slashed hand instead

Fig. 3. Lobe perforator: wooden pin. Slightly less than ½ nat. size.

of a share in the meat. In another instance the women caught sight of the hunter at a distance, pounced upon him, and snatched away the game long before he could get to the plaza; on this occasion a woman had her nose gashed.

Gradually the orifice is widened by the insertion of successively thicker rods of bamboo and later of wood. As soon as the diameter attains about 4 cm., the further widening is produced by inserting the two index fingers and turning them around each other. It is, above all, the youths secluded during the last phase of initiation who strive for a maximum diameter, but there is great variability from tribe to tribe and from individual to individual. The Western Gaviões perforate their ears, but do not seem to wear strikingly large plugs; and according to Pohl the Põrekamekra specimens were only half an inch in diameter.[288] Those of the Kre'pų'mkateye do not exceed 3.5 cm.; on the other hand, the largest plugs, with a diameter up to 10 cm., occur among the Krahõ' and the Ramkõ'kamekra and in former times they are said to have been still larger. All of the older Ramkõ'kamekra recalled a tribesman with plugs of such dimensions that they would clash together in the back of his neck as he ran. My pictures at the last initiation illustrate the variability in size (pl. 4, *a–c*).

304 171

304 832 When the plugs are of the largest size, the lobe of the ears forms a strip barely 5 mm. in width that encircles the outer margin as an endless band does its wheel. Such disks (kúi) are the youth's pride and the women's delight. In describing the handsome young man of a tale the narrator will stress the size of his plugs: there is a story about one hero whose disks were so large that he would take them out to sit on them as a stool. Spirally coiled palm leaflets, such as Pohl reports from the Põrekamekra,[289] supersede plugs only in the case of medium-sized holes.

304 When the ear has attained the desired extension, the disk is generally worn only for festive adornment, the lobe normally forming a flapping loop, which is accordingly as a rule slung over the upper edge of the helix. Occasionally some accident

[288] Pohl, Reise, 2:191. [289] Pohl, Reise, 2:192.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

may cause the loop of skin to tear, henceforth preventing the wearing of ear ornaments since they are never used singly. Pąnhí, once taking over a huge burity log from another racer's shoulders while dashing past, suffered this misfortune. He did not notice anything before passing on the log, when the blood was dripping on his shoulder. I have never heard of the Canella healing the torn ear after the fashion of the Apinayé.[300]

The ordinary plugs are disks of some light (weight) wood, an inch in thickness and dyed red only on the edge. For a ceremony a thick layer of white clay is put on the face of the earplug, which is mostly decorated with black and red designs. There are ringlike plugs of thick bamboo and also wooden disks with round central holes that are sometimes sufficiently large to suggest rings; at times a corded tassel, dyed red, is inserted. The youth in plate 4, *a* has stuck a bit of tobacco twist into the orifice of his plug, not for magical purposes, but simply because the ceremonial costume precludes the use of a pouch for storage. In other plugs the holes have the form of a Greek or Maltese cross. Very rare are heavy plugs of hardened white clay with violet marble-like veins; I have seen them only from the Rąmkõ'kamekra, the material being apparently restricted to the Serra do Alpercatas in their territory. (Pl. 13, *a*.)

Among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye I have seen plugs with four little mother-of-pearl disks cemented into the anterior surface. The Rąmkõ'kamekra have such inserts of mirror glass, but only rarely.

From Pụkóbye I obtained a pair of paca incisors said to be insets for earplugs. I have never seen such in use among the Eastern Timbira, but observed them at Apinayé initiations. The ear rosettes of the Karayá also bear this ornamentation.[301]

Labrets; incisors.—Except for the Western Gaviões the lower lip is no longer perforated by any Eastern Timbira tribe. The Rąmkõ'kamekra told me that until not very long ago the Eastern Gaviões (Pụkóbye) also had perforated lips. In a mixed company of Krahõ' and Apą'nyekra Martius saw the older people wearing labrets in the form of shining cylinders of yellow rosin or alabaster; they were from 1½ to 3 inches in length and could be easily extracted.[302] Since Pohl, who in the same year saw numerous Krahõ', noted only ears perforated,[303] the labret wearers must have been Apą'nyekra, though their present descendants know nothing of such decoration. For the Põrekamekra Pohl explicitly denies perforation of the lip.[304]

Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Apą'nyekra, and Krahõ' the upper incisors of children of both sexes are very often tapped into pointed form with a knife and a little mallet. The practice is rare among the other Eastern Timbira.

The reverse holds for tattooing, which is very rare among the former, but somewhat more frequent among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye. Doubtless borrowed from the Neobrazilians, the decoration as a rule consists merely of a few plain lines or copies of letters on the forearm; it is executed with iron needles and genipa.

Pigments.—The Canella have five pigments: 1, black, from rubber latex with powdered charcoal; 2, red, from urucú seeds; 3, yellow, from the juice of the urucú root; 4, bluish black, from the juice of the genipa fruit; 5, white clay. Of these, the first three are applied both to the body and to objects; the fourth serves only to decorate the body; the fifth, with few exceptions, only for objects.

Red urucú, the most common, at once attracts every visitor's notice by its omni-

[300] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 42.
[301] Krause, In den Wildnissen Brasiliens, 224.
[302] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:819.
[303] Pohl, Reise, 2:211.
[304] *Ibid.*, 2:191.

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Hygiene

515 Unless subject to taboos, both sexes bathe at least once a day, the younger people twice or three times. If all the residents are assembled during the vų'tę' period, the younger generation take their first bath jointly before sunrise as soon as the youths' and maidens' dance in the plaza abruptly comes to a stop. At that moment all dash toward the brook, including the girls, who have quickly fetched their gourd bottles. Men and women of mature age are also in the habit of joining, but those really old rarely come, if at all. The girls go directly upstream, take up a position counter to the current, and fill their vessels, everyone laughing and splashing about. At this early hour the air is piercing cold on the steppe, and precisely before sunrise a gust of wind is likely to make the bathers shiver as they get out of their bath. In order to get warm everybody rushes up the slope toward the village. But the members of whatever festive organizations happen to be functioning assemble halfway to the settlement around fires, for which they have already brought along dry palm grass. Only after having warmed themselves they run shouting, each society separately, into the village, where each occupies its appropriate site in the plaza.

During the day they generally bathe again, performing their ablutions by rubbing themselves with their hands or with leaves. After nightfall they avoid entering the water. The hair, as noted, is washed by rubbing it between the palms. Notwithstanding their efforts the skin rarely appears wholly clean, for it usually retains remnants of old body paint, feathers glued on, and the like—the sort of [654] things regarded as dirt by civilized people. Babies at the breast are the cleanest part of the population, for they are washed without delay as soon as they are dirty.

The oral cavity is cleansed with the index and middle fingers and rinsed with sand. They never clean their fingernails.

[857] When at most three years old the Rąmkõ'kamekra boys and girls know how to swim and dive. I observed that the Krahõ', Kre'pų'mkateye, and the Timbira of 481 Araparytíua were all good swimmers, and the same has been reported of the Põrekamekra.[355] On the other hand, I had a different impression of the Krĩkati, 171 who do not live along running watercourses and of whom I suspect at least some are unable to swim. At all events they manifested a striking repugnance to deep water, as I noted repeatedly when they accompanied me from their village to Porto Franco on the Tocantins. At the Ribeirão da Aldea, whose wooded bank was somewhat more than knee-deep under water, while in midstream the water of the brook did not extend beyond my saddle, these Indians cut off sticks to take soundings ahead of them, and I had long reached the opposite bank when I still heard them splashing behind me and excitedly shouting at one another. They talked of the Ribeirão dos Arraias, which is 20 m. wide and 1½ deep, as though it were an insurmountable obstacle; and the successful crossing took an eternity, for each of the women had to be led across by two men. Still more amusing was the passage of the shallow, but swift streamlet known as Lageado in a canoe belonging to a Neobrazilian. At first no one ventured to step into it, and when the first hero hesitantly and diffidently succumbed to my mockery, his wife kept singing in a booming voice on the bank till she saw him safely on land.

356 The dwellings are in general tolerably cleanly. Every self-respecting woman will 412 sweep her house and the space before it at least once a day—even several times if the offals after a meal require it. The brooms are made of the inflorescence of the [137] assahy (*Euterpe* sp.) or the bacaba palm (*Oenocarpus* sp.), or a bundle of mallow

[355] Pohl, Reise, 2:200 f.

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divided (according to their own account) into those anciently known and those adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians.

Aboriginally known:

Maize, põhĩ' (*Zea mays*)
Sweet potato, yąt (*Batatas edulis*)
Yam, krẽrẽ' (*Dioscorea* sp.)
Manioc, kwąr (*Manihot utilissima*)
Sweet manioc, kwąr-kahę'k (*Manihot aipi*)
Horse bean, pąnkrĩ' (*Phaseolus* sp.)
Arrowroot, kurĩare (*Maranta* sp.)
Gourd, kõkãnkahę'k (*Cucurbita* sp.)
Ground nut, kahę' (*Arachis* sp.)
[European name lacking], kupá (*Cissus* sp.)
Cotton, kažą't (*Gossypium* sp.)
Bottle gourd, kõkãn (*Lagenaria* sp.)
Cuyeté, kĩ'tšẽ (*Crescentia* sp.)
Cuya de rama, —— (*Cucurbita* sp.)
Urucú, pų (*Bixa orellana*)

Adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians:

Rice	Beans	Pineapple
Watermelon	Orange	Tobacco
Banana	Lemon	Timguy (fish poison)
Sugar-cane	Mango	
Cayenne pepper	Papaya	

The only plant-origin myth relates to maize and coincides with the Apinayé equivalent.[145] It combines two principal motives—the world tree and the star wife. The former occurs among Carib peoples of Guiana, having been recorded by Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipáng, by Brett among the Akawoí, by Im Thurn and Roth for the Carib proper, while Nordenskiöld reports it from the Arawakan Čáne of the northern Chaco. The other motive seems to be derived from the Serénte, who far more logically connect it not with the origin of maize, but with a visit to the sky.

Nordenskiöld derives Gê yąt (sweet potato) from Tupí yetĩ'k, which is supposed to point to a transmission of the species from the Tupí. I consider this highly improbable, for the Northwestern Gê would never have lopped off an accented syllable, but would presumably have transmuted the hypothetical loan-word into yetí (cf. below as to the assimilation of Tupí tapití). Further, there is a striking fact: Tupí agriculture stresses maize and manioc, the Northwestern and Central Gê emphasize sweet potatoes and yams, which virtually furnish their daily bread but play a more modest role among the Tupí.

In my description of Apinayé tillage I noted that the Northwestern and Central Gê probably did not acquire manioc from either the Tupí or the Karayá, whose methods of employment and preparation are totally distinct.[146] Against such borrowing may further be cited the term kwąr, uniformly distributed as it is over the entire Northwestern branch, from the Suyá to the remotest Timbira tribes. From Ribeiro's denial of the Krahõ' Indians' familiarity with *the preparation of flour*—"farinha de pau," that is, flour from unfermented manioc[147]—it does not by any means follow, as Snethlage assumes,[148] that they lacked manioc altogether. For they may very well have used it as they do today, in the form of pies baked in earth ovens. In recent times the Eastern Timbira have adopted the preparation of flour together with the basketry press, not from the Tupí-Guajajára, but from Neobrazilians. This is indicated by their designating this utensil not by the Guajajára term tipiti, but by its disfigured Neobrazilian form tapití, assimilated to Timbira phonology as tapti. They further give to the roasting pan its Portuguese name, forno.

The species of arrowroot planted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra differs from the Neobrazilian form.

[145] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 165–167.
[146] *Ibid.*, 88.
[147] Memoria, § 73.
[148] Nordostbras. Ind., 162.

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I noted arrows headed with hollow bones (hõ'kóp) and with flat iron points (krowakõwakĭ') among the Kre'pų'mkateye and Pųkóbye; the former type occasionally turns up also among the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

In addition to the foregoing, all steppe Timbira have arrows with smooth wooden heads, as well as with a cross of two pairs of little sticks tied on so that the point projects only a little. The latter type, which serves for hunting birds, is borrowed from the Guajajára, as witnessed by the native term, prĭyĭkakót (Guajajára bird-arrow). The bird-arrows of half-grown boys are topped either with a ball of burity bast fiber (pl. 16, *e*) or a segment of a kerneled corncob; or the point may consist of the thickened knoblike root end of the arrowshaft itself (pl. 16, *d*).

All Timbira arrows have tangential bridge feathering (pl. 16, *j*). The feathers are tied with cotton string, while the place for inserting the wooden foreshaft of the arrow is mostly wrapped with black guambé (*Philodendron* sp.) bark. From an old Indian of the Čą'kamekra tribe now merged in the Rąmkõ'kamekra population, I obtained arrows with gynerium shaft and radial sewed feathering (pl. 16, *k*). His neat and competent execution proved thorough familiarity with the rather difficult technique, not a mere attempt at imitation. According to his statements the Čą'kamekra used both bridge and sewed feathering, the latter having been borrowed from the Gamella of Codó, who were destroyed in 1856. Both techniques are also traditionally ascribed to the Gamella of Vianna.[255]

Sewed feathering has for its criterion *attachment of the feathers with threads traversing the shaft by means of several transverse perforations* specially made for the purpose. It occurs in two discrete areas—in the central Matto Grosso and on both sides of the lower Tocantins. Most of the instances given by Schmidt,[256] on the other hand, do not properly fall under this head for lack of any perforation of the shaft.

Our first area, defined by Nordenskiöld,[257] embraces the Bororo, Bakairí (Carib), Yaulapití (Arawak), Trumaí (isolated), Huanyam (Čapakúra), the Tupí stock being represented by the Auetõ', Kamayurá and Kayabí. The existence of a second center was first established by Raymundo Lopes on the basis of literary sources. I am, however, in a position considerably to augment the list of these northern groups, which at present may be summarized as follows: 1, Urubú (Tupí); 2, Amanayé = Ararandeuára (Tupí); 3, Guajajára (rare—Tupí); 4, Parakanã (Tupí); 5, Asuriní (Tupí ?); 6, Arára (Carib); 7, Pariri (Carib); 8, Čą'kamekra (Gê); 9, Gamella of Codó (?); 10, Gamella of Vianna (isolated).

I cannot get rid of the impression that the people who spread this technique were of Tupí stock, though not of the Še branch of this family (Guaraní, Tupinambá). Of the eight Matto Grosso tribes, also, three are Tupí.

The end of the arrow is held with the right thumb and index finger, while the string is pulled with the index, middle and ring fingers. The shaft rests below the extended index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. The arrow is fitted to the string in horizontal position; in letting it fly the archer holds his bow in approximately vertical position. He aims in a straight line, making his shots random only when compelled by the greatness of the distance. Really indirect shots do not occur; I am unable to confirm Snethlage's relevant statement.[258] Given a suitable angle, a Timbira arrow flies about seventy meters, but some measure of certainty goes only with about half that distance.

[255] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 12.
[256] Schmidt, Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten, 1035 f.
[257] Nordenskiöld, Ethnography, 3:45, also map 4.
[258] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 158.

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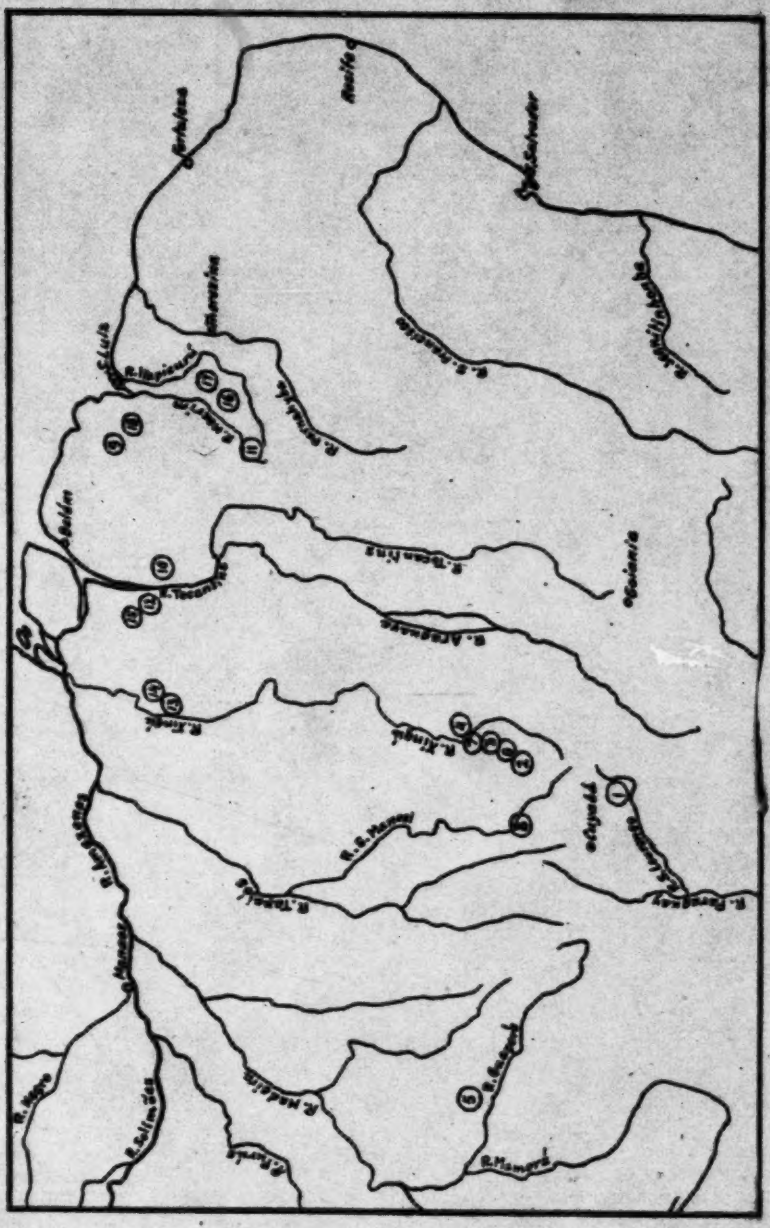

[map 2, a, facing p. 69]

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but remained standing aloof. But after the spoils had been piled up, a tamhą'k went there to select a portion for himself and his fellow members, and they then distributed it among themselves.

If the hunting party had killed a tapir, all persons within reach gathered round the carcass, and an old man selected as vigorous a young tamhą'k as could be found. The man chosen set off his occipital hair by tying in the manner explained, and painted the oral region with charcoal powder; whereupon the old man stuck a wad of cotton between the tamhą'k's lips. For evisceration the beast was laid, belly up, on palm leaves, then a knife was ground and put on the game. The tamhą'k stepped up, seized the knife, slowly made a single downward incision in the skin, cutting chest and belly, and redeposited the blade. The object of this performance was to render the tapir fat when dissected. The old man thereupon handed the animal's liver to one of the tamhą'k's relatives, who had a pie, ku'kų'ti, prepared from it, which the young men brought to the elders in the plaza.

The killer of a jaguar screamed beside the carcass until one of his hunting companions approached, took away the hunter's weapon, whether bow or gun, and gave him his own in exchange. The hunter distributed the skin among the bravest men, who used it for armlets on their upper arms.

The sun is considered the protector of game animals, which are thus commended to his care: Of a late afternoon an old man summoned the men to form a circle round him in the plaza. He stood resting on a stick, faced east, turning his back to the solar disk, and prayed: "Kédeti imą̃ prire kuna yamãke imą̃ katí vakokú rųitó a'nã ató impey!" Approximately this means: "May the Grandfather [sun] protect all beasts so they grow up and can be eaten by man." Then the suppliant successively enumerated the long series of species whose welfare he commended to the sun.

Fishing

Fishing is but slightly developed among the Timbira. Its economic insignificance has been noted by Snethlage, too.[20] Even with tribes like the Kre'pų'mkateye and the Timbira of Araparytíua, who live directly on the banks of sizable rivers, fishing plays a subordinate role. As for the steppe Timbira, the brooks near their settlements furnish only small fish in moderate quantities, so that a family could hardly ever eat its fill from the produce of a catch. Fishing was naturally eliminated for the Krĩkatí, who dipped up their water supply from water holes. However, in special cases certain small species form the prescribed diet.

Fish are secured by shooting with arrows (pl. 16, *h*, *i*), with a line, and (after drugging) with a scoop net (pl. 17, *c*). Fish spears and anchored nets are lacking, as are basketry traps and the "pari" traps frequent among the Tupí tribes and also found among the Apinayé. The fish arrows are sometimes, but not as a rule, without feathers. They are generally marked by the greater length of their gynerium shafts and bear simple barbed points. Harpoon darts and arrows with several points are unknown.

Tradition does not report aboriginal fishhooks. Those now in use are of iron, mostly from North America, and are designated by the term ĩyó, derived from Portuguese *anzol*. The Indians themselves manufacture the line from tucum fiber. Angling devolves mainly on the children, women, and old men.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra poison fish with the plant now cultivated by them and called kalón by the Timbira, the timguy of the Neobrazilians, from whom the Indians borrowed it. Another fish drug, less used at present, but in my opinion

[20] Nordostbras. Ind., 160.

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FEMALES

Names	Rainy season moiety	Names	Rainy season moiety
14. Kapẽrkwę'i	kę'	19. Nyõkí	kę'
Kąyarí	kę'	Paõédn	kę'
		Rekwę'i	kę'
15. Kąryapę	atų'k	Rõti	kę'
Nyõkąakré	atų'k		
		20. Nyõ'hoeõí	kę'
16. Kõrẽ'dn	atų'k	Hakatę'i	kę'
Yątkró	atų'k	Krę'napę'n	kę'
Koté	atų'k	Tekurę'	kę'
		Yekutá	kę'
17. Ikurẽ	atų'k	Kahẽrkwę'i	kę'
Teprã	kę'	Palík	kę'
Yoõę'n	kę'		
18. Yõkrąakré	kę'		
Teprã	kę'		

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of Ponto represent complementary exogamous units for they happen to be brothers. Nor can I understand the same author's report of a dispute over trespass between two eminent men of different moieties, for the land is not the property of the moieties, but of the tribe, that is, of the village community. Finally, the assertion that each moiety is "under the supreme rule of the commandant of its age class" reveals a basic misunderstanding.[200]

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While the matrilineal moieties of the Apinayé do not regulate marriage,[201] comparable organizations occur in other parts of Brazil. According to a provisional statement of Claude Lévi-Strauss's researches, the Tupí of the Machado River have exogamous patrilineal moieties coupled with a double division in age classes.[202] The Šerénte have exogamous patrilineal moieties associated with north and south and subdivided into clans localized in the village.[203] The Eastern Bororó also have a southern and northern moiety, but with maternal descent; each embraces seven localized clans.[204] The Tukuna have patrilineal moieties with fifteen and twenty-one clans, none of them localized.[205] The Parintintin also have unlocalized patrilineal moieties.[206] The patrilineal moieties of the Mundurucú are split up into nineteen and fifteen clans, respectively.[207] Tembé Indians of the Rio Acará interviewed by Estevão de Oliveira made statements suggesting patrilineal localized moieties (east and west).

A
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According to my own investigations, the Kaingang proper trace their descent from two heroes, Kamé and Kanyerú, associated with patrilineal, unlocalized moieties having distinctive decorative paint. The Kamé moiety is characterized by a pattern of lines, its complement by dotted decoration. Further, each moiety is subdivided into at least three classes, which modify the moiety designs: the paí apply

[200] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 167–169.
[201] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 21.
[202] Métraux, 34.
[203] Nimuendajú and Lowie, Associations of Šerénte, 408 *et seq.*
[204] Colbacchini, 1–30. Cf. Lévi-Strauss, 269–304.
[205] Nimuendajú, Idiomas, 188.
[206] *Idem.*, The Gamella, 235.
[207] P. Kruse, 18, 19.

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Each groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips
616 during which the hunters abstain from sex relations, but subsequently the groups
224 exchange their women. If the hunt falls in the period of kạ́makra log making,
834 the members of this group give their opponents only a small piece of every beast
837 killed, but supplement the present with powder, a few arrows, a bow, and the knife used for cutting up the game. The atụ́kmakra act correspondingly during the period of *their* races. During the atụ́k period the hunters return in a race with considerably hollowed-out logs.

616 After the last atụ́k race, which closes the meipimrạ́k season, the women of each
527 group prepare meat pies with green maize, which is already available then, and distribute them among the membership.

After the beginning of the maize harvest, at the very close of the meipimrạ́k
616 period, the mepatạ̃nčwẹ́pupú (viewing of sisters' sons) ceremony takes place.
527 The atụ́k of both sexes bring new fruits from the plots and assemble outside the
604 village, where part of the crop is cooked. Every man who has a sister's son is standing beside him and thus they march to the plaza, where the red-painted kạ́makra men with *their* sisters' sons are expecting them, standing in a row. The atụ́k deposit their prepared fruits before their opponents; finally one of them appears with an armful of maize cobs, which he throws contemptuously at the feet of the kạ́makra men. While this is going on, each group lands the great number and good appearance of their nephews while ridiculing their opponents'. This ceremony usually closes the meipimrạ́k season.

616 Although the inauguration of the maize harvest and the appearance of the hõčwi
575 society fall within this period, they are not associated with the rainy season moieties.

On the other hand, this bisection of the tribe seems to play a part in the second
616 initiation phase, that is, during the vụ́tẹ́ season. Five weeks after the beginning
881 of their seclusion the novices parade round the boulevard until they reach the seclusion yard of the eastern class leader. During this procession they were shielded from view by large mat shields. The novices of atụ́k affiliation left the seclusion yard at nightfall in order to return each to his own hut of seclusion "for night belongs to the atụ́k." On the other hand, those belonging to the kạ́makra did not leave before daybreak "because daytime belongs to the kạ́makra." On the day that
[302] terminates their seclusion the youths appeared painted from head to foot with the *yellow* urucú pigment (p. 53). On this background they were painted, according to their affiliation, with vertical or horizontal lines in red urucú.

616 Further, I noted that in the races intervening between the lifting of their own
561 and of their first commandant's seclusion the novices bore the black lines characteristic of the kạ́ and atụ́k, respectively. Subsequently, however, only the age-class grouping made itself perceptible.

616 The dual division discussed in this section suggests even more strongly than
174 that of the plaza groups a secondary allotment of functions originally vested in
171 the exogamous moieties. It seems highly probable that anciently the kạ́makra were identical with the eastern, the atụ́kmakra with the western moiety, the former enjoying ceremonial ascendancy during the dry season, the latter during the rainy season. Only as the age classes with the vụ́tẹ́ system (p. 92) gained in importance, the kạ́makra were pushed from the ceremonial of the dry season into the opening weeks of the rainy period. The dichotomy of nature associated at Ponto with the rainy season moieties is a feature of the exogamous moiety system of other tribes. This holds for the Kaingang I saw in the toldos of the Ivahy region (state of Paraná) in 1912–13: Kamé, the ancestor of one of their moieties, was described

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as slow-moving, perseverant, and characterized by decorative painted lines; Kanyurú as nimble, inconstant, and painted with dots. All of nature was classified according to these criteria—the changing, spotted moon is Kanyurú; the sun, Kamé, etc.

Plaza Groups and Moieties

A peculiar organization, unintelligible to me in its present form, is that of the double trio of menkąčą′ groups. The term may be rendered "where or how the people stand in the plaza"; me(n) is a personal prefix, ką designates the plaza, and the suffix čą defines the place, manner, or instrument of a thing or action.

The division applies only to males, each of the six groups embracing all the bearers of a definite series of masculine names, which a boy gets by transfer from

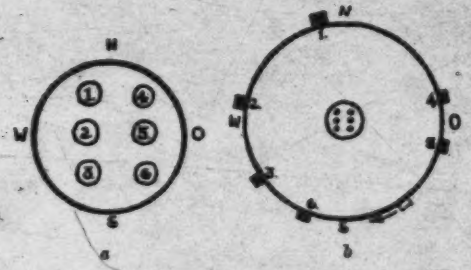

Fig. 7. a. Position of plaza groups: 1, Armadillo; 2, Dwarf Parrot; 3, Alien Tribe; 4, Giant Snake; 5, Bat; 6, Carrion Vulture. b. Position of plaza group assembly houses.

a maternal uncle. The grouping into eastern (kǫ′irumenkąčą, from kǭ′irum, in the east) and western (harą′rumenkąčą, from harą′rum, in the west) plaza halves has nothing to do with the exogamous moiety scheme, hence blood brothers and parallel cousins may belong to distinct plaza groups.

The scheme is as follows:

kǫ′irumenkąčą (eastern)	harą′rumenkąčą (western)
1. kąka, Giant Snake	aučét, Armadillo
2. čepre, Bat	kédre, Dwarf Parrot
3. čõdn, Carrion Vulture	kupẽ, Alien Tribe

Each group has both a fixed station in the plaza and a house of assembly whose position at the periphery roughly corresponds to that site in the plaza (fig. 7). However, during the pepyé festival of 1932 the meeting place of the eastern čõdn had been transposed to the western half of the circumference. The reason given for this exception was that the leader (mamkyẽ′ti) of the pepyé, who belonged to the čõdn, was to be painted in his maternal home according to the general usage applying to these officers, and that house was situated on the west side. For his sake, accordingly, the meeting place of the group itself was shifted to that side.

The purely ceremonial main functions of these groups are exercised at the initiation festivals. They set in with the very beginning of the first phase—the capture of the prospective initiates. Two specially appointed "catchers" bring the boys out of their maternal homes, alternately leading a lad from the eastern and the western plaza moieties to the plaza, where they are opposed to each other in two parallel lines. The eastern members are led to a house on the east side for their seclusion,

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778 554 [784] personal prefix; kakrán, unripe; kra, people). This term does not suggest social immaturity, but brings out the point that the mekakránkra may eat unripe fruit while for the hąmrén all that is not completely mature is taboo. Further, a hąmrén never eats of the first part of a crop lest he be attacked by snakes or other venomous beasts. A hąmrén who should taste of a green gourd would be afflicted with wounds on his body; in gathering honey he must not eat it directly from the bees' nest, but must first put it on a gourd bowl, otherwise he would be likely to get injured by stepping on the stump of a tree. He would incur the same risk if he were to carve implements, such as clubs or arrowheads, from pau roxo wood in the plaza, where men frequently work manually during the meetings held there. The "unripe people" are immune to such perils.

Because of the above-mentioned confusion of the words hąmrén and tamhą'k I am not clear how many of the numerous restrictions which hedge in the King Vultures apply to the whole order. In any case the taboos listed suggest that a hąmrén is invested with a superior bodily sensitiveness.

778 554 766 Formerly all the hąmrén had a distinctive mode of burial, a custom only partly maintained at present. Properly, the corpse of a hąmrén (and none other) has falcon down glued on it; and the interment takes place not behind the deceased person's maternal home, but in front of it, on the inner margin of the boulevard. Finally, secondary burial was confined to this order, though conceivably this was once the rule for all, but persisted for the hąmrén when it had long lapsed for the rest of the people.

778 554 171 Outside the Canella I have encountered nothing at all suggestive of this hąmrén institution except among the Kaingang in the Rio Ivahy district (state of Paraná). Here there are at least three classes (p. 82 f.)—paí, votóro, and pénye, the first ranking highest (cf. Guarani: paí, a person of prestige) and comprising the chiefs. It enjoys ceremonial prerogatives, such as sitting on a white caraguatá blanket; and is credited with peculiar sensitiveness to noxious influences. For that reason, the chief Vegmõ' told me, he had bestowed on his naturally feeble son a pénye rather than a paí name. These classes have distinctive duties in the cult of the dead. A father may assign his child to whatever class he pleases, its affiliation being symbolized by the name it bears. Unfortunately my data are very imperfect. According to Hoerhan, the Botocudo of Santa Catharina—closely related to the Kaingang, though not identical with them—have some comparable institution (p. 83).

Of the first four of my hąmrén categories, the chiefs are best considered under the head of Government, the others in connection with the discussion of ceremonialism.

794 As for the King Vultures, I at first mistook them for an ordinary men's society, for at certain dances and log races their behavior hardly differs from that of the Ducks or Falcons. But soon I recognized them as a wholly distinct type of unit, seeing that they are *ipso facto* hąmrén, in fact, form the bulk of the order. Further, while the societies figure ceremonially only at certain definite festive periods and in a markedly dramatic fashion, the King Vultures have permanent functions of pronouncedly magical and social significance. Finally, they are without girl associates.

794 825 The word tamhą'k is a synonym for kukriti (king vulture [*Gypagus papa*]), with whom the members claim kinship, designating him as kedti (maternal uncle). However, they do not in any way worship or revere this bird, nor do they make ceremonial use of its feathers or parts of its body. As the king vulture makes food available to the ordinary black vultures (by tearing open the carrion against which their weak bills are impotent), so a King Vulture feeds others.

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608 362 At pepkahą'k a man specially appointed and his assistant cut off the long occipital hair of the Falcons' pinčwę'i and of the King Vultures' "friends" of either sex. The clipped hair is united in a tuft and suspended from a tree outside the village.

608 364 Further, on certain occasions it devolves on the hąpín and pinčwę'i to clean the streets used for ceremonies in which their friends take part. Thus, at the pepkahą'k festival the friends of the pepkahą'k cleaned the radial paths from the performers' maternal homes to the plaza; and the King Vultures' friends cleaned the radii on which this order appeared for their main ceremony. The kinswomen of the persons on whose behalf this service is rendered always pay the workers with food. It should be noted, however, that at other festivities street cleaning devolves on definite societies.

608 In certain ceremonies a man carries his hąpín astride his shoulders. Thus, at a terminal vų'tę' solemnity the Little Falcon, a boy of about four, straddled his hąpín's neck, for the maternal uncle who had bequeathed the office to him and was the child's proper introducer was no longer living. At the pąrąre race of the terminal ceremony in both phases of initiation the two new class leaders ride on the shoulders of their hąpín.

608 575 In other cases "friends" serve as quasi-protectors of ceremonial performers. Thus, when the down-covered Little Falcon parades round the boulevard at the close of the Mummers' festival, his friends protect him against the Agoutis swarming around in order to tear the glued down from his body. At the inspection of new class leaders toward the end of pepyé their hąpín, with transversely extended sword clubs, seemed to bar the older age class from access to the hut of seclusion, but finally they left the way clear. For this act the two leaders' kinswomen brought bowls of food, which were put in front of the defenders' houses. At the close of their festival the pepkahą'k assembled with the King Vultures in a house, where the pinčwę'i of the former glued falcon down on them; when the Falcons approached, the friends of the pepkahą'k denied them ingress, holding poles in transverse position, and were rewarded with meat pies.

794 608 On the eve of the King Vulture ceremony the members' pinčwę'i have a special duty while the pepkahą'k and the King Vultures chant in the plaza. Spreading over their own backs the mats the pepkahą'k have made for the King Vultures, the girls formed a close circle round the dancers in order to shield them from the nocturnal cold. For this service they had received an advance payment of small meat pies from the King Vulture's kinswomen and in addition retained the mats.

608 171 From personal experience I know only a single phenomenon somewhat parallel to this hąpín bond of the Timbira, viz., the maĩtúma institution among the Šipaya, a tribe on the Rio Iriry, a large affluent of the lower Xingú. These people speak a language similar to Tupí and are in every respect close to the Yurúna. Their maĩtúma seems to have been connected with the cult of their national and war spirit, Kumãpári. In any case during zetabĩa, a purely religious festival dedicated to this spirit, those wishing to become maĩtúma were obliged to step before his wooden statue (upáši) and to utter their wish. On behalf of the spirit the medicine-man would reply and blow tobacco smoke at the suppliants, who then jointly drank fermented manioc. The maĩtúma bond obliged partners not to quarrel with each other, to manifest mutual respect and helpfulness, and to abstain from indecent speech in each other's presence. In Portuguese both the Šipaya and the Timbira render the terms maĩtúma and hąpín, respectively, by "*compadre*."[108]

[108] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 1028.

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while holding it with her left arm (pl. 22, *a*). Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra I have never seen carrying bands used, yet they probably were formerly in vogue, for Ribeiro expressly states: "Carregam ellas os sues filhos menores ás costas, pendurados en tipoias ou tiras largas feitas de palha de burity."[180] That is, they followed the present custom of the Šerénte and Kayapó instead of the Apinayé custom of wearing girdles.[181] Pohl describes the carrying bands of the Põrekamekra: "In order to carry their children, who are nursed until their fifth year, in comfort, the women use shoulder-bands two inches in width [i.e., strikingly narrow!], which are plaited of palm leaves, and on the chest as well as the back there are suspended some twenty cords with the above-mentioned bead-like seeds [*Scleria flagellum*]. Into this band the child is set so that its feet clasp the mother's body." The same carrying band he notes among the Krahõ': "I obtained one of the above-mentioned children's carrying-bands, such as I found here too in use by all the women."[182]

I, too, have seen carrying bands among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye, but they were plaited of cotton, not palm grass, and were in part provided with ornaments in relief. The Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra also have such cotton sashes (pl. 11, *a*, *b*), but today at least they serve only as ceremonial decoration of the precentresses. Here the plaitwork is always plain, with huge cotton tassels depending from the cords of *Scleria* beads. The mode of manufacture varies. Either the band is manufactured in the plaiting frame with only a number of little sticks inserted between the warp strands; or the maker slings a cipó hoop round her knees (pl. 6, *a-c*). Concerning a similar specimen seen among the Kre'pụ'mkateye I do not know whether it served as a carrying band or as a ceremonial decoration. The Krĩkatí, Pụkóbye, and Kre'pụ'mkateye substitute deer hoofs for the *Scleria* cords.

From the Suyá, Von den Steinen obtained a quite similar children's carrying girdle of cotton, about 7 cm. wide and plaited all over with lozenge designs, but it had only two loosely encircling corded rings instead of the pendants.

The Krĩkatí and the Pụkóbye also have some wide cotton carrying slings in two-strand twining technique (Doppelfadengeflecht), which, like the cotton hammocks of the same make, are all traded in from the neighboring Guajajára.

Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra it is exclusively the mother's business—or occasionally that of kinswomen relieving her—to tend the infants. A man will indeed play with his child and lay it beside him on his platform bed in the daytime, but if it gets soiled he almost always calls the mother to do the cleaning.

All the women and girls I knew were without exception glad to devote themselves to children. As soon as a little one begins to stand erect, the women attempt to teach it rhythmic dance movements to accompany their singing, and it is very droll to see the infants commence dancing after a fashion as soon as their mothers stand them upright and strike up a tune.

NAMES

The principle of name transmission and its connection with social units have already been described (p. 77 ff.).

[180] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 12.

[181] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 105, 106.

[182] Pohl, Reise, 2:193, 215. "Um ihre Kinder, welche bis zum fünften Jahr gesäugt werden, bequem tragen zu können bedienen sich die Weiber zu diesem Zweck bestimmter Achselbänder. Selbe sind zwei Zoll breit, aus Palmblättern geflochten und an der Brustseite wie auf dem Rücken hängen bei 20 Schnüre mit den obenerwähnten perlenartigen Samenkörnern. In diese Binde wird das Kind gesetzt, so zwar, daß deßen Füße den Leib der Mutter umschlingen.... Auch eines der obenerwähnten Kindertragbänder, welche ich hier ebenfalls bey allen Weibern sah, brachte ich an mich..."

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According rape was unknown, the only contrary instance being that of an Indian who had been intoxicated to senselessness in a Neobrazilian house; on the way home he ravished his twelve-year old daughter, but on coming to he had not the slightest recollection of his deed.

DAILY DANCES

The relations of the young people of opposite sex are best illustrated by their joint dances in the plaza, which normally take place three times every day during the ceremonial season. The party includes as participants:

1. The precentor, ikrérekaté. Of this category the Canella have two or three good representatives and a number of mediocre ones. The younger ones who show talent are instructed by the older precentors, at whose side they appear. A worthy precentor requires a good voice, a good memory for the innumerable dance songs, and bodily endurance. His instrument is the dance rattle, ko'tõi, made of the rind, usually painted red, of a *Crescentia cuiete*, mounted on a wooden handle that projects above as an elongated tip, by which the rattle can be planted in the ground (pl. 32, *b*, *c*). At the grip end a rectangular hole in the handle permits the insertion of a plaited wrist loop, which has a long tassel. The precentor is by no means a medicine-man nor has his rattle the slightest religious significance, as Abreu erroneously assumes.[180]

A remarkable description of the rattle wielded by a Põrekamekra precentor is given by Pohl: "This [precentor] carried in his right hand a ¾-yard-long staff along which a blackened coconut shell could be pushed up and down by the movement of the body. Within the shell were maize kernels, which produced a loud noise." I have never seen such an instrument, which recalls the "taran" observed by Snethlage among the Moré of the upper Madeira region. But Pohl does not seem to have closely viewed the object he describes, for it could hardly have been a "coconut shell" and the "maize kernels" were presumably the black pamtiį seeds which both the Eastern and Western Timbira exclusively use and specially cultivate for this purpose.

The precentor generally wears a forehead band, a neck band with a tassel for the back of the neck, sashes across the chest, sometimes cotton bracelets—never a loincloth such as Jurandyr Paes Leme paints in representing a Ponto dance.[181]

2. The precentress, mehõkrepúi, has already been referred to (p. 97).

3. The girls from about their seventh year until at least their first pregnancy. Many a woman eagerly participates even subsequently so far as the care of her infant permits. On the other hand, women of the critical age or grandmothers never take part.

4. The males comprise at least the older members of the unofficial boys'-class and the two junior official classes, mepantúa.

If the youths are otherwise engaged, the girls will dance by themselves, but this is certainly not the normal thing, contrary to what might be inferred from Snethlage's and Abreu's reports, both of which mention only the dancing girls and the precentor, saying nothing about the participation of young men. Indeed, Snethlage goes so far as to speak of a "women's dance."[182]

[180] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 180, 182.

[181] Fróes Abreu, op. cit., 182. Pohl, Reise, 2:201. "Dieser trug in der Rechten einen drey viertel Ellen langen Stab, an welchem eine schwarz gefärbte Kokosschale durch die Bewegung des Körpers auf und niedergeschoben werden konnte. In der Schale waren Maiskörner, welche ein lautes Geräusche verursachten."

[182] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 180.

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The third dance usually commences after 7 P.M. subsequent to the councilors' meeting. It always has the largest attendance, which includes spectators, especially mothers, grandmothers, and aunts who come to watch their girls dance and later escort them home. As a rule the dance lasts until 9 P.M., but sometimes much later. From time to time Čątú, or sometimes one of the councilors, inspires the performers to greater efforts by admonitions, praise, and protracted shouting. At the close of the performance the married folk and the virgins go home, but the unmarried mepantúa and several wantons usually remain in the plaza at the station peculiar to them. A youth who has a mistress crawls under a mat with her that renders the couple invisible. Some one individual may sing on for himself for a while, then there is complete silence in the village until at 3 A.M. the precentor's rattle once more sounds his summons.

535 ● 171

This mode of dancing seems common to all Timbira. I have seen it not only among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, but also among the Krĩkatí, Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, Krahõ', and Apẹ'nyekra, and the Apinayé manner of dancing is extraordinarily similar.

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In addition, however, there are a number of dances for amusement into which the nocturnal dance for the most part merges, and of these I will describe the knee (mekonkrąne mekrére) and the arrow dance.

The former I observed in 1933 about the time of the terminal ceremony of the pepyé, but it was not related to that initiation and might just as well have been performed at any other time. At 4 A.M. I was awakened by Čątú, who with another man was getting the girls together. Finally eighteen of them in the company of a precentor were squatting on their heels in a circle round a fire in the plaza. Singing with regularity, the precentor on his knees slid in a circle around the girls, at last vigorously shaking his rattle at one of them. Thereupon she also glided about on her knees, moved outside the circle, then backward in a circle in front of the precentor, moving her arms as in a dance, until she had returned to her position. This was repeated by each girl. Once the precentor glided to the right and the girl toward the left in a circle. In the meantime eight men marched in a slow dance step clockwise round the seated group and sang the "ilire" song, which refers to popere, the electric eel (*Gymnotus* sp.).

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The arrow dance, a very jolly affair, was performed one evening almost at dusk. The participants were ten girls, a troop of youths, and a precentor. To one side, at the edge of the plaza, were camped the wakõkama in the station proper to their age class. The order of the dances was the customary one. One youth was holding a bow and arrow in his hand, of which the precentor relieved him during the dance, turning them over to a girl. She stepped out of the line, fitted the arrow to her bow while the dancers continued unperturbed, then with stretched bow chased away the quietly watching wakõkama. Next she turned to the dancing youths, pursued them, and at last discharged one of the arrows at a youth, who of course eluded it with agility. Thereupon she returned to her position, while the precentor turned the weapons over to another girl, etc. But when they had once more got into the youth's possession, he suddenly turned toward the girls, menacing them with the stretched bow so that they dispersed with cries of alarm. But presently they reunited, and the play went on. Sometimes the girls shot at the wakõkama without ever hitting anyone, and the young men responded to each shot with a loud "rrr!" Finally they suddenly leapt up and with uplifted clubs chased the girls in all directions. This ended the entertainment.

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The dances hardly involve any erotic stimulation, but as a by-product some of

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582 881 initiation with the young men do not receive their girdle until the close of their term of office—in both cases of about five years' duration. In former days, furthermore, they did not erect the elevated platform bed prior to receipt of the girdle, hence had no previous visits of their lovers at night. This statement, I think, may be accepted as definitely established by the information given by the older Rąmkõ'kamekra. It is the paternal kinswoman who transfers names to a girl that also gives her the girdle.

There are no marriage tests for the Timbira. The log races so often represented as such by earlier writers are in no way connected with matrimony. Agreeing with Abreu, I must emphasize this point because Snethlage expressly reports contradictory information. On the other hand, he rightly corrects Ignace's gross error in crediting the Canella with the ant trial.[180]

832 At present some mothers try to accelerate the development of breasts by dealing a daughter a few light taps against the nipples with their finger joints—usually in the morning on waking up. Girls also practice this custom among themselves I once observed a ten-year-old girl who for this reason wore a broad grass strip tied tightly across the chest, with a little disk of charcoal over each nipple and under the grass strip.

881 833 582 836 Nowadays only a minority of girls attain puberty as virgins. *De facto* most of them are already married at twelve or have had extramarital relations. On the other hand, I do know a number of girls—the vų'tę' Repiya, for example—who are at least fourteen and still virgins. (See pl. 28, *b*, *c*.) Such chaste girls, who are invariably engaged, are educated for indissoluble wedlock and guarded by their elder kin women. As for the rest, one is never sure when their period of betrothal—assuming its existence—ends and when matrimony begins. In the orthodox view they would all be wantons with whom any bachelor might consort freely, breaking the relationship, at least in the absence of offspring, at the will of either party.

As for the youths, at present a considerable number are married before the completion of their initiation. The Rąmkõ'kamekra connive at this transgression, which unlike the present Apinayé, they do not penalize by forcible separation.

595 All the Eastern Timbira are strictly monogamous; even tradition reports not a single polygynous or polyandrous union. Snethlage correctly rejects Tuggia's allegation[181] that the Krahõ' permit polygamy.

DEFLORATION AND MENSTRUATION

841 833 171 Like their Apinayé cousins,[182] the Rąmkõ'kamekra firmly assert that menstruation is impossible prior to sexual congress. Such a theory is after a fashion intelligible for the Apinayé, whose girls with possibly a few exceptions are actually deflowered before their first menses, but for the Rąmkõ'kamekra it is utterly inconceivable: first, because I personally know a number of girls who were surely of age yet were rated and married as virgins; secondly, as explained above, marriage three generations ago was quite generally not entered before this age *and* in a condition of chastity. This is confirmed by Ribeiro: "Destinam-se entre elles o consorcio das mulheres logo que pouco mais ou menos tenham 14 ou 15 annos." Moreover, says Pohl, writing of the Põrekamekra, "dass hier das Beispiel eines gefallenen Mädchens eine unerhörte Sache sey."[183] The statement by Pohl, cited by Snethlage

[180] Próes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 187. Snethlage, Nordostbras., 171, 183. Ignace, Capiekrans, 147.

[181] Frei Rafael Tuggia, Mappa, 123.

[182] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 75.

[183] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 18. Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

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841 853 191 about frequently married eight-year-old girls, refers not to the Timbira, but to the Southern Kayapó.

How the native theory of defloration as prerequisite to menstruation could persist is a complete enigma; and its occurrence in identical form among Eastern and Western Timbira proves that the idea is not an innovation. I myself took cognizance of its existence relatively late. An accurate determination of the facts encounters difficulty, not because of Indian prudery, but because the natives could never grasp that I was interested solely in the objective facts: they always supposed that I was taking a personal interest in the girl I asked about. That I was inquiring about two or three girls was also intelligible, though my simultaneously concerning myself with all of them seemed a bit odd. I left the puzzle unsolved.

[123]

881 841 585 No special measures are taken at puberty, the procedure remaining uniform for the first and for subsequent menstrual periods. Since defloration and menstruation are equated, the diet is the same in both cases, but in the former it extends to both spouses, who for several days abstain from heavy dishes lest their hair turn gray prematurely. Meat, manioc paste, and manioc flour are taboo, while nowadays rice is reckoned most suitable.

841 Formerly a menstruating female is said to have worn a hip cord of burity bast dyed red, a badge that had completely fallen into desuetude at the time of my stay. She goes bathing as usual, but wears no decoration and does not appear in the plaza, least of all for dancing. In fact, she does not without necessity leave the house, where she is seated on a special mat of paty palm leaves. She must, above all, refrain from looking at the plantation in order not to injure the growth of the crops. She drinks from a special water bottle, but may prepare food for others as well as herself. The use of a scratching-stick is prescribed. It is usually a span in length and consists of a rod of paty leafstalk or any handy little stick as a substitute; the scratcher is usually stuck into the thatch of the wall beside the bed.

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No man knowingly has relations with a menstruating woman lest he be afflicted with a headache so violent as to drive him mad. If he recognizes the woman's condition too late, he immediately prepares an infusion of cedar bark, sets it outdoors overnight, and drinks it the next morning.

[757]

836 627 596 Though premarital defloration has become the rule as it were, the girl's relatives still demand an indemnity unless marriage follows. Usually there is a family council, embracing the mother, her brothers and sisters, the girl's elder brother if old enough, and the paternal aunt. After a cross-questioning of the girl in order to ascertain the facts, the mother's brother betakes himself to the culprit's family and with the utmost calm and prolixity propounds the claim for indemnification. He rarely receives an immediate reply, for the Timbira are generally extremely slow in reaching a decision. There ensues a discussion by the culprit's family, possibly repeated at intervals of weeks, so that the affair is drawn out over months, sometimes dying of inanition—if for no other reason, because in the meantime the girl has had over-ample time to dispose of her person. In some cases, however, the uncle takes a more determined stand and lays siege to the opposing party till they indemnify the others with a gun or such ironware as a pot, a bush-knife, or an ax, the maternal uncle receiving the lion's share. This, at least, is the contemporary procedure. Anciently, it is said (and confirmed by Pohl), premarital defloration was virtually nonexistent.

833 171 Like the Apinayé and the Šerénte, the Rąmkõ'kamekra cohabit both in dorsal and in semilateral feminine position; in the latter case, posteriorly below the woman's raised thigh.

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764 chief Ropkᾳ′, and opposite him chief Kukrãčᾳ′, who calls Ropkᾳ′ his uncle, was
596 delivering the funeral oration. When the women put the corpse on Ropkᾳ′'s lap he began to cry aloud and desperately, while Kukrãčᾳ′ rose and went to the plaza to arrange for the digging of the grave. In the meantime the boy's maternal uncle who was to have transferred his name to the child arrived on the scene, likewise took the corpse on his lap, and fell to crying violently. Kentapí called my attention to the fact that neither she nor her mother took hold of the corpse lest the child of her sister Iromkré, who was still in her lying-in retreat, should cry constantly.

764 In the plaza the chief asks who wishes to dig the grave. A volunteer always comes
616 forward, but it must not be a member of the dead man's exogamous moiety. The mode of remunerating his and the corpse decorators' services has been described (p. 102).

[765] Formerly, when secondary burial was still in vogue, the deceased was first buried
764 behind his mother's home, except for a hąmren (p. 98). When I visited the Krahõ′ in
179 1930, these Indians seemed to have still maintained the custom of burial behind the house; the Rąmkõ′kamekra of today would at most follow it in the case of an infant.

The grave is more or less 2 meters in depth. Formerly it was round, and the corpse was put in there in a sitting posture, facing east.[264] At present, at least among the Rąmkõ′kamekra, the grave is exclusively rectangular, the corpse lying extended on its back.

764 If the death occurs in the morning, the burial takes place in the evening; if a
766 person dies in the evening, he is buried the following morning and there is an all-night lament near the corpse. If the deceased man's prominence draws many related persons to the spot, a kinsman kills a pig, which is hurriedly prepared for the entertainment of those present. Part of the food is then put in a gourd for the dead man, an elderly woman several times holding a morsel close to his mouth.

The mats on which the corpse rests are folded over it and tied firmly at both ends and in the middle. Then the bundle is hung to a pole, which two men carry to the cemetery—at present from one and a half to two kilometers from the village. A few additional mats are taken along for the adjustment of the grave. None of the Timbira tribes throws earth directly on the corpse, as reported for the Põrekamekra by Pohl, who does not, however, seem to have attended a funeral; and the grave described by Ribeiro was presumably not a Timbira's, as he assumes, but that of a Gamella of Vianna.[265] The opening of the grave is covered with transversely laid pieces of wood, which are topped with mats before heaping up earth. Lest the heat of the sun annoy the deceased, twigs and palm fronds are put on this mound; sometimes the grave is fenced with old racing logs to keep out roaming domestic pigs. (See pl. 26, *b*).

At least nowadays there are no funeral deposits except that a woman's carrying basket may be laid on her mound along with a gourd bowl, her spindle, and the like.

The next of kin never accompany the corpse to its grave, but remain seated in the house of mourning, weeping probably another half hour at the empty spot where it had been resting. Then they have themselves sprinkled with water in front of the house "in order to remove the dead man's perspiration," a service which is paid for. The house and the space before it are always swept.

775 Like the Apinayé,[266] the Canella believe that the shadow of a person who dies
171 "hungry," that is, has not for some time prior to his demise taken any food, will return to his mother's home in search of sustenance. Their procedure is quite like

[264] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Snethlage, Nordostbras, 173.
[265] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Ribeiro, Memoria, § 26–28.
[266] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 132.

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775 that of the Apinayé: the relatives stimulate a hunt, prepare a meat pie, and at
● 171 nightfall set it on a little scaffold behind the house in the steppe, with a gourd bowl full of water. While the rest of the people are dancing in the plaza, an old man watches near by until he hears a rustling in the leafy wrapper of the pie. Then he announces to the others: "He has already eaten!" Thereupon the councilors have the pie brought to the plaza, where they distribute it among themselves.

766 In 1935 I witnessed an unusual funeral ceremony. Kwqirẽ're, a young woman of about nineteen, had died in confinement. She had been the girl associate of the kapranpotíkama age class and because of her gentle, amiable disposition enjoyed extraordinary popularity. Since by virtue of her office she was hamrén, her corpse had falcon down glued on and its cheeks were decorated with small black triangles. Thus it lay on a mat opposite the door, surrounded by her wailing tribesmen.

In the meantime her age class assembled in the plaza, where they sat down in a line, while a precentor slowly shook his rattle and sang in an undertone. At last they rose, trotted toward the house of mourning, entered, and formed a line on both sides of the door, facing the corpse, continuing to sing with muffled voices, and adumbrating dance movements. Suddenly three of them stepped up to the corpse, one of them raising it from the rear and setting it on its feet, while his two companions took her arms. Thus they executed with the dead woman characteristically feminine dance movements, making her bend the knees slightly and move her arms, which were flexed at right angles, backward and forward. The lament swelled into a terrific hubbub, men, women, and children all howling in savage desperation. The corpse's pale, decorated countenance, over which a half-indifferent smile seemed to glide, contrasted oddly with the grief-distorted, tear-stained faces of the mourners. The macabre dance lasted only a few seconds, then the three laid down the body, folded the mats over it, tied up the bundle, and lifted it to their shoulders without the customary attachment to a pole. With it they ran outdoors, followed by their classmates, and disappeared at a trot. Thus the class carried their dead associate to her grave after having once more made her dance before them as of yore.

764 Formerly all the Timbira practiced secondary burial. Among the Põrekamekra
177 Pohl obtained the following account:

Nach Verlauf eines Jahres versammelt sich die Gemeinde wieder unter denselben Ausdrücken der Trauer an dem Grabe; es wird geöffnet, der Körper herausgenommen, hingelegt, und nun erzählt man ihm alles was sich seit seinem Tod in der Aldea im Allgemeinen und in seiner Familie im Besondern zugetragen hat. Hierauf werden die Gebeine des Verstorbenen mit Urucú rot bemalt, und zur abermaligen Beerdigung nach dem allgemeinen Begräbnisplatz getragen.

Until some twenty years ago the Canella still maintained secondary burial in individual cases, at least for the hamrén; for the rest of the population the custom had fallen into desuetude. Formerly, the secondary interment took place three or five years after the first. The most appropriate person to execute it was the husband of the widow's sister; and if a bachelor undertook the job, he thereby acquired a certain claim to the hand of the widow's unmarried sister. Unfortunately I do not know what preferential conditions obtained at the secondary burial of a woman.

The bones were scraped clean with an implement from the leafstalk of a bacaba palm and were painted with urucú. Then they were wrapped up in cotton threads specially spun for the purpose by the dead person's mother (or a kinswoman acting as her substitute) and tied together. Finally the remains were put into a burity bag and buried in a shallow hole in the cemetery.

The period of mourning and the rules of inheritance are described elsewhere (pp. 126, 158).

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terminal incline. At the closing ketũaye ceremony the biggest of the graduating novices lent them a hand. In the other cases several of the men, after delivering their own logs, turned back to help the women. In 1933 or thereabouts a certain Tarpót, then seventeen years of age and wedded to the champion racer of the recently initiated age class, ranked as the best of the female runners. Women who have borne children no longer actively participate in the log races.

Only the opening race of the meipimrą'k season takes place in the fashion mentioned above, with large but bilaterally hollowed burity logs. Otherwise the racers of this period use gradually enlarged logs, as noted.

In addition to the races hitherto described, which belong in the category of athletic sports, there are others of symbolic character, executed like those of the opening of the meipimrą'k period with logs too light for a test of athletic prowess. Accordingly, they are rather simple relay races with symbolical miniature logs.

This holds in even greater measure of the pąrare (racing logs of the souls of the dead), which weigh only about 245 gr. apiece and are used by the plaza moieties at the close of each initiation phase.

Small pąrare, only 2-5 cm. long, serve as ornaments, being suspended in pairs or bundles from necklaces and sashes (pl. 35, *d*). Nowadays, at least, the Indians attach no interpretation to such decoration. Several times I have seen noteworthy pąrare resembling the little girls' dolls in being characterized as male or female by wax breasts, girdles and hip cords.

Given the predilection of the Timbira for these races, old logs are seen lying about in great numbers everywhere in their villages. Anyone may appropriate these and use them at his pleasure. One sees them inside and in front of the houses, as a rule unsplit, rarely bisected, serving as settees along the walls. People like to use them as a barrier to the freely roaming domestic pigs, either by laying one transversely before the threshold or putting them square-fashion round young fruit trees and other plants to be protected near the houses. Sometimes the graves to the rear of the houses and even in the cemetery are fenced in this manner. The fibrous, sappy palm wood rapidly dries out, whereupon the old logs are chopped up for fuel.

As stated, log races seem to be the national sport of all Timbira tribes. I have witnessed them among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, the Apinayé, and the Krahõ'; and seen logs of the type in Apą'nyekra, Krĩkatí, Pụkóbye, and Kre'pụ'mkateye villages. Among the Timbira of Araparytíua (middle Gurupy) I learned that the sport was still in vogue in 1913. In 1931 a punitive expedition to the wild Gaviões discovered two wide, straight roads, probably race tracks, and a rattle girdle with tapir hoofs such as is worn by the Canella čụ'kate (p. 139). According to the handful of Čą'kamekra survivors, log racing formerly played the same role as among the Rąmkõ'kamekra. Of the now likewise extinct "Poracramacrans" (Põrekamekra) Pohl reports a log dance, which unfortunately he did not himself witness, for which a special circle had been formed in the plaza:

> Bey diesem Tanze bedienen sie sich bey drittehalb Ellen langer, anderthalb Schuhe im Durchmesser haltender, 4–6 Arroben schwerer Klötze [which Pohl obviously saw] welche auf den Schultern getragen und von den Tänzern einander zugeworfen werden.[20]

To hurl and catch logs weighing 87 kg. while dancing is presumably not quite so simple as Pohl seems to have been made to believe.

The only Timbira groups for whom I have discovered no evidence of log races are the inconsiderable remnants of the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and of the Kukóekamekra and Krẽyé of Bacabal, whom I have never visited in their villages. However, the

[20] Pohl, 2:205.

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probability is that they, too, practiced this sport so long as an adequate number of men was available, which is no longer the case.

The nearest linguistic and cultural relatives of the Timbira, especially of the Apinayé, are the Northern Kayapó. According to Kissenberth[221] the "Tanz mit dem schweren Holzklotz auf der Schulter" forms the acme of their akre festival, which he connects with a lunar cult but has not yet described in print. Thus he, like Pohl, mentions a log *dance*.

The Southern Kayapó, clearly distinct from the Northern Kayapó (p. 6), had dwindled down to some 40 people in 1907 and are probably quite extinct today. According to Silva e Souza,[222] in 1812

> ...nas vizinhanças da Paschoa [beginning of the dry season] pintam em si com tinta de genipapo botinas, peitos de armas, e fazem então com grande vozeria as suas festas e jogos, sendo o mais celebre o que chamão touro, em que se disputem uns aos outros as forças no carreira, tomando uns do hombro de outros um grande tronco que empregam neste ministerio.
>
> (...about Easter they paint their boots and armor with genipa and then amid great shouting they celebrate their festivals and games. Of these, that known as touro [bull; error for tóro, log] is the most famous; in it they test their powers in running, taking from one another's shoulders a large tree trunk used at this performance.)

In other words, they had a genuine sportive log race differing from the Timbira form only in the alleged use of a single log.

But Pohl's report on the same tribe is quite different: The log (a single one!) was 1½ yards in length and 12 inches thick, that is, much thinner than the Timbira equivalent, and weighed a hundredweight. At night in the dance some man would leap about in a circle with it and throw it toward some other man. Pohl's further remarks about the use of the log during the festival of Gebrar Cabessa (= quebra cabeça, head-breaking) held "zur Fastenzeit" and during mourning are obscure and surely rest even less than the above description of the log dance on his own observations.[223]

Thus Pohl is the first to credit the Timbira and Kayapó with a log dance, not a log race. Since he did not observe it in either tribe, I am unable to decide whether the "dance" concept is due to erroneous information given him or to a misunderstanding on his part. This would not apply to Kissenberth, who probably witnessed the phenomenon; but how easily an investigator may be tempted to drop into his predecessors' phraseology, precisely in this matter, is illustrated by Snethlage, who speaks of a Rąmkō'kamekra log dance, which his own account unmistakably marks as a true race.[224] Failing, then, more precise reports by trustworthy eyewitnesses, the log "dance" seems dubious, though gaining in probability in view of the maríddo ceremony of the Eastern Bororó.[225]

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The Šerénte have a log race. Another presumably Gê people practicing this sport is the Kamakan tribe in southern Bahia between the Contas and Pardo rivers.[226] Their log, though made from another kind of wood, resembled the Timbira type in size and weight and, like the pą'rakahą'k, was provided with grips. The Kamakan, too, constructed straight, tidy race courses, though only a quarter-mile long, and ran from the end of the lane to the village. Wied-Neuwied and Douville both mention a single log, which according to Wied-Neuwied the other performers tried to get away from the bearer during the chase. Douville makes the latter try to remain

[221] Araguaya-Reise, 55.
[222] Memoria, 494.
[223] Pohl, 1:400.
[224] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 182.
[225] Lévi-Strauss, Contributions, 76f. note 1.
[226] Wied-Neuwied, 2:222; Spix and Martius, 2:695; Douville, Voyage, 275.

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and have been extinct since the eighteenth century. Contrary to Ehrenreich, Schuller[203] proved that they were not Gê; and I doubt likewise that they belonged to the Kariri stock.

In shifting their encampment these people raced from the old site to the new one. The two logs were laid on the ground a stone's throw from the chief's hut and at a distance of two paces from each other. The racers stepped up in two teams (*in duas turmas divisus*) and each team selected its strongest member to have the log placed on his neck, whereupon he dashed off with it, relieved by his fellows in the course of the race. The victors called the vanquished names and hissed at them. A crude sketch, hardly in harmony with the text, accompanied it.

In 1647 Roulox Baro started on his journey to the Otshukayana, whom he apparently met beyond the sources of the Potengy, and marched toward the coast with them. During his nearly three months' companionship he repeatedly witnessed log races: "*On courut l'arbre*" is a frequently recurring entry in his diary. A several weeks' racing season formed the prelude to a great festival, at which boys had their ears pierced, and marriageable youths their lower lips and cheeks. I am not quite clear whether the terminal ceremony actually involved a collective wedding of these young men. At all events, this eyewitness, too, does not represent the log race as a trial of marriageability. The chief Jandhuy, over a hundred years old, also took part. The two logs were extraordinarily long—22 ft.—and consisted of barked, smoothed tree trunks. Baro also reports a race from an old to a new camp site. The race opening the festive period assumed a remarkable form. Prior to the event the Indians had caught numerous rats (*Cavia persa?*) for the purpose, and these were liberated to be pursued and killed by the log runners—by what means is not stated. Snethlage supposes that the logs were hurled at them, but throwing 6-m. long trunks after fleeing rats is not a likely procedure. Perhaps they were trampled to death.[204]

Barlaeus, whose statements do not rest on personal observations, strikes me as an untrustworthy source on many points relating to Indians. For instance, he tells how the Otshukayana go to their huts "sambt Weib, Kind, Knechten, Karrn und Wagen, daruf sie ihr Geräth führen." Plötz and Métraux interpret one passage to mean that the victorious log racers became war leaders; but "victorem cohortes sequuntur" may possibly mean no more than that the teams ran behind the champion. The German edition states: "Wer nun den andern zuvorthut, dem folgen alle beyde Hauffen, und begeben sich also miteinander auf den Weg."[205]

In any case, there can be no doubt that the Otshukayana log races, like those of the Timbira and Šerénte, represented a competitive sport between two teams.

Though the three oldest sources on the Otshukayana say nothing about any connection between log races and matrimony, Carrilho de Andrade some seventy years later discovered something of the sort. He writes of the Yandois, that is, Otshukayana, and the Pyacús, that is, Payacú, presumably as of 1699 or 1700. The Payacú, now extinct, spoke an unidentified language and lived in the present states of Rio Grande do Norte and Ceará, on the Rio Apody and west thereof as far as the Rio Choró. Perhaps they are identical with the Pajoke or the tribe whose chief during the Dutch period was Pajuku. Carrilho reports:

Eyxercitão se desde mininos Em destrezas, Eforsoas, com o lutar; correr, saltar, Eleuantando grandes pezos aos onbros, correm tres Ecoatro llegoas sem descansar, Edesta sorte ganhão premios que Entre Elles, os mayores, uem á ser mossas fermozas por molheres.

[203] Ehrenreich, Ueber einige Bildnisse, chap. 4. Schuller, Affinität der Tapuya-Indianer.
[204] Baro, Relation de voyage, 220, 224. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 183.
[205] Barlaeus, Brasilianische Geschichte, 95, 695. *Idem.*, Rerum, 253. Plötz and Métraux, 279.

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a war chief, haprãra, specially chosen by the council from among the experienced braves, several of whom usually accompanied the expedition and without whose advice the age-class leaders would not take any steps.

By way of avenging a kinsman's death a single man might lie in ambush near the enemy's paths and water supply; or maternal uncle and nephew would unite in this way.

According to a Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition a woman whose son had gained a warrior's status sent him out to fetch the skeletal remains of her brother, whom the Neobrazilians had killed near a settlement. She gave an exact description of the site, which was at the foot of a big tree, in the center of a little wooded island by the headwaters of a certain brook. The youth set out alone and found the bones at the spot indicated. He collected them, packed them up, and carried them to a mountain halfway from his home. There he laid them down, as well as his provender and everything he was able to spare, then he once more went back to the settlement, carrying only his weapons. Here he lay in ambush not far from the houses, near a road with many footprints. He waited for a long time, then two men with rifles came past, whom he followed. After a while one of them lingered behind to ease himself, and the youth utilized this opportunity to lay him low with a club. The companion heard the noise, turned back, and cocked the trigger when he caught sight of the Indian, but before he could shoot the young man had killed him too. Then he picked up the rifles and fled, for the inmates of the houses had taken cognizance of the incident and immediately gave pursuit. He ran all day, but his pursuers would not give up, so that at last his strength was exhausted. With a final exertion he climbed the mountain where he had left his uncle's bones. He was unable to move farther and prepared to fight. From his height he saw his pursuers arriving at the foot of the cliff, but they were even more fatigued than himself, hence unable to ascend the mountain. Accordingly, after a rest they turned back. The warrior recovered the bag with the remains, also his baggage, and returned to his village, where he put down the two rifles in the plaza before the chiefs and elders. The trigger of one of them was still cocked, for at that time these Indians did not yet understand how to release it.

Weapons.—The principal weapon was the club, that is, especially the two-edged sword club (pl. 8), which terminates in a hefty, long point so that it serves equally for thrusting and striking. Sometimes it was also thrown short distances, as stated by Pohl for the Põrekamekra. The Rąmkõ'kamekra had special throwing clubs with a head set off from the rest of the weapon in the form of a short cylinder.

A few remarks may be offered as to the anchor ax, kạ'ire (Pụkóbye: kạ'hire; Kre' pụ'mkateye: kạyé). According to Pohl, the Põrekamekra used it both as a badge of office and a weapon:

> Als Abzeichen ihrer Würde trugen der Kapitão und dessen Unterführer ein eigen geformtes Beil aus Granit unter den Achseln. Dieses Beil, halbmondförmig geschliffen, 7 Zoll lang, ist an einem kurzen Stiel von 10 Zoll Länge befestigt, von welchem rotgefärbte Baumwollschnüre herabhängen. An beyden Enden dieses Stieles ist ein dünnes Band befestigt, vermöge welchem das Beil auf der Achsel festgehalten wird. Es gelang mir nur mit vieler Mühe durch Vermittlung Carvalhos und gegen Erstattung eines Gegengeschenkes, aus mehreren Messern bestehend, ein solches Beil zu erhalten. Sie gaben sie sehr ungern weg, da ihre Verfertigung sehr mühsam ist. Im Kriege wissen sie dieses Beil mit besonderer Gewandtheit zu führen und es hat die Bestimmung, vorzugsweise den Feinden die Köpfe zu spalten.

Among the Eastern Timbira the anchor ax is—at least nowadays—far rarer than among the Apinayé, whose small ceremonial form is wholly lacking. I have seen only a specimen apiece among the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the Apą'nyekra and have re-

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411 ceived a blade as a surface find from Krĩkatí territory. Several Western Gaviões
171 specimens have been published; still another, reputedly Krahõ', departs so widely from all other Timbira equivalents in its decoration that I am inclined to doubt the provenience assigned to it.[280]

In my day the anchor axes did not linger even in ceremonial usage. I obtained my Rąmkõ'kamekra sample from an aged Indian woman reckoned my "aunt," but who was nevertheless censured by her other relatives for giving it to me. She had had it in custody since the death of its last owner, her brother Krąmpę'n. Of an afternoon or evening he was said to have occasionally held it in the plaza while singing "Yẽẽ heyõ kąire yẽẽ!," as well as the names of his ancestors. He had obtained the weapon from his uncle, Mąyapíri, a great warrior who is supposed to have used it in actual combat.

727 *Slayer's seclusion.*—The slayer of an enemy is called hukanã'ra (persevercr;
783 aukanã', persevere, imperative), or hąprẽ' (brave one). Directly after the killing he paints himself with charcoal and draws a broad red stripe across his mouth. As soon as he gets back to the village he goes into a month's retreat, during which period he sits on a special little platform bed and may neither laugh nor wash himself. His sustenance is restricted to roasted maize. At the close of his seclusion his mother or sister prepares manioc paste and his maternal uncle goes hunting, the flesh of the game killed providing material for three meat pies nearly a meter in diameter. The killer takes a bath and is decorated with falcon down. After the usual afternoon log race a youth brings firewood to the plaza and kindles a fire, near which the men, led by a precentor, sing the same song characteristic of the hõkrowatiyõ ceremony of the pepyé initiation (p. 198 f.). The decorated slayer steps among them and shouts a statement about his exploit. Before sunset the solemnity is over.

On the following morning the three pies are deposited on the boulevard in front of the slayer's maternal home. Admonished by the elders seated in the plaza to go through the whole procedure in proper fashion, the killer slowly advances toward the pies. Making the sign of a deer with the index and middle fingers of his uplifted hands, he imitates the snort of a shy deer. Thus he leaps over the food and proceeds toward the councilors, to whom he presents himself. These then have the pies fetched and divide them up among themselves.

648 *Treaties and alliances.*—Formal treaties and alliances occurred both between
175 Timbira groups and between such and Neobrazilians. To be sure, Ribeiro, supported
728 in this by Pohl, expresses a very derogatory opinion as to the value of such agreements:

> Sua inclinação para o roubo estranho é por tal forma excessiva que rompe toda a alliança logo que possam furtar uns poucos de pregos velhos.
>
> (Their inclination to rob outsiders is so extreme that they break any treaty as soon as they have a chance to steal a few old nails.)[281]

However, Ribeiro himself describes several instances in which a solemnly concluded pact was ruptured on trifling pretexts not by the Indians, but by the Neobrazilians. In 1815 he witnessed the entrance of from five to six hundred Põrekamekra into São Pedro de Alcantara in order to make peace:

> ... ás sete horas da manhã, entraram desarmados na povoação formando cada sexo uma columna que marchavam parallelas entre si, e á testa dellas vinha o seu chefe maioral chamado Coerit, homem com 50 annos de edade, muito respeitado entre os seus, e de uma conducta tal, nesta administração que não parecia um barbaro selvagem. ... Traziam elles todos uns ramos verdes nas mãos,

[280] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 69 f., 126–128; Rydén, Brazilian Anchor Axes, figs. 3 E, 6 C, 6 F; Simões da Silva, Machado crescente.

[281] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 30. Pohl, *supra*.

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longitudinal hollow in the upper surface of the log, giving it the semblance of a trough. The length of the hollow was to correspond to the vụ'tẹ"s stature, which had been measured for the purpose; but because of an error in the length of the log, that of the hollow was slightly reduced. The kõkré was allowed to lie transversely before the girl's door, and the men went off taking along the tool as their fee. All this had been done early in the morning.

In the afternoon, directly after the hũyakrékate everybody marched to the vụ'tẹ"s house. A few paces in front of it a pit was dug exactly in the middle line of the radial path; there the log, planted so that its hollow faced the plaza, was fixed in place by stamping. One of the hũyakrékate boys attended as an onlooker.

This terminated the season, the meipimrą'k commencing the very next day. The kõkré log remained standing for several weeks, then it was removed and chopped up.

The vụ'tẹ' also figure as girl associates (mekuičwẹ'i) of the Clown society at the tepyarkwá.

In its present form the institution is not quite clear, the personal functions of vụ'tẹ' even in ceremonial being quite insignificant. Neither my own experience nor the literature seems to reveal anything comparable among other tribes, with the possible exception of a reference in Jacob Rabbi relating to seventeenth-century Otahukayana in Rio Grande do Norte:[388]

> ... qui deinceps tempus terunt hastilibus certando, luctando, currendo; quibus certaminibus duae foeminae ad id selectae praesident & judicant de singulorum virtute & victoribus.

To be sure, the vụ'tẹ' do not function as such umpires.

In any case the vụ'tẹ' principle is the same as that of the mekuičwẹ'i associated in couples with every initiation and festive organization. The Apinayé also have comparable pairs of girls bearing "great names."[389] The female sex is represented by a member of each moiety at all men's ceremonies.

Opening and Close of the Meipimrą'k Season

On the very first day after the close of the ceremonial period there is a race between the two rainy season moieties, ką' and atụ'k.[390] They are separated by a palm-grass partition erected transversely across the race track about five hundred meters outside the village. The ką' assemble on the side toward the village, the atụ'k on the opposite side. This is the only ceremony that in any way justifies the designations People of the Plaza and People of the Outside (p. 84). For this race two pairs of enormous logs are always prepared, one for the men, the other for the girls. On this occasion the men mostly wear their long occipital hair tied together with a small grass ornament, hivakũi (p. 48), and all of them are painted with the designs of their side in vertical or horizontal black lines.

Before the hẽrkučą, that is, the terminal ceremony of the katą'mre period, the first of the season, a one-day hunt is scheduled. At a short distance beyond the village the grass partition is put up across the race course. The ką' assemble on the village side, the atụ'k on the far side.

The young girls and women, separated according to rainy season moieties, form two groups close to the street, outside the partition and beside the men affiliated with them by moiety. In front of the atụ'kkwẹiye (women) stands Iką'rkate, the atụ'k men's leader; in front of the kąkwẹiye (women), Kačũnkate, leader of the ką' men. Iką'rkate goes to the women of the opposite moiety and asks one of them

[388] Pisonis and Maregravi, 280.
[389] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 24.
[390] These data supplement what has already been described under the head "Rainy Season Moieties" (p. 84 ff.).

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masks for the last time, join the Jaguars in surrounding the oven of the western vụ'tẹ', while the Agoutis assemble around the eastern vụ'tẹ''s. By the oven the "mothers" of the kõkrị't remove their "sons'" masks, whereupon the Mummers' kinswomen pour water on the wearers. Each "mother" carries the costume home, keeps it there as long as she pleases, and then takes it apart so that the constituents may be otherwise utilized—the mats for seats, the fringe for plaitwork, the horns for bows.

Character of costumes.—The masquerade costumes of this tribe are wholly secular, completely lacking religious or esoteric significance. They are unrelated to initiation, age classes, and exogamous, plaza, or seasonal moieties. The Mummers simply form one men's society, like the Agoutis, Jaguars, Ducks, or Falcons, and follow the same pattern of a leader, two girl associates, and transfer of membership from maternal uncle to sister's son. The costumes are not taboo to anyone and inspire no fear, least of all in the tribeswomen, two of whom themselves wear them. In fact, the masks are especially popular among the female population and closely linked with it through the institution of "mothers." Masquerading is a jollification for the villagers, nothing more.

According to Estevão de Oliveira's investigation in 1935, "mothers" turn up in connection with masks, though in a different way, among the linguistically isolated Makurú, who live in the state of Pernambuco, not far from the Caxioeira Paulo Affonso of the Rio São Francisco. Their masks, however, are of quite distinct type and seem to have religious value.

Pepkahą'k

Introduction.—This is another of the three intercalary festivals performed in years that lack initiation ceremonials.

Pepkahą'k means "imitating (-kahą'k) warriors (pep)," or "similar to warriors." Though the Apinayé phonetic equivalent, Pebkaág, designates the initial phase of their initiation ceremony,[88] the Rąmkõ'kamekra pepkahą'k is neither immediately connected with the boys' initiation nor a prerequisite to any social function. It almost seems as though the festival results from the desire of the last-initiated age class to enjoy once more the amenities of prolonged seclusion. There is no true origin myth (cf. p. 179) nor are the natives able to interpret the performance beyond declaring that it serves solely for entertainment.

My account rests on the performance I witnessed from April 18 till June 14, 1931.

The vụ'tẹ' season of the year had been opened on April 14. On April 18, at 5 P.M., the women and girls had pilfered the pole laden with slices of meat and fruits; and there followed the customary dance for that time of day in the plaza, which was immediately followed by the opening of the pepkahą'k. This rapid succession of events was by no means accidental or due to lack of time, but was designed to prevent the dispersal of the younger men, who were practically all assembled for the vụ'tẹ' opening and had no inkling of the prospective beginning of the festival. Some might have gone away to evade capture and participation, for not all the individuals selected for a part relish this new seclusion.

Personnel.—The personnel embraced:

1. Uninterned: two catchers (hapą'nkate), who are actual directors, viz., To'põ' of the eastern and Kuikõ' of the western exogamous moiety.

One precentor (ikrérekate); as usual, old Kạ'e.

2. Interned: two leaders (mamkyẽ'ti), one from each moiety, who head their secluded age mates.

[88] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 37.

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V. RELIGION AND MAGIC

Earlier Sources

In the older literature there are no usable statements about Eastern Timbira religion. According to Ribeiro,

> Nao se lhes conoce a mais pequena demonstração de culto ou religião qualquer que ella seja, pois é sua razão a esse respeito submergida no chaos da ignorancia, sendo lhes bem indifferente que o sol nasça ou que se esconda.
>
> (Not the slightest manifestation of cult or religion is known from them, rather is their reason buried in ignorance in this regard, and they are quite indifferent whether the sun rises or is concealed).[207]

As will appear, things are not quite so bad as all that.

About Põrekamekra religion an interpreter told Pohl the following:[208]

> Die Indianer erkennen ein höchstes Wesen, welches sie mit dem Namen Tur-pi bezeichnen, es wohnt im Himmel, sendet Regen, Sonnenschein und Gewitter und verschafft ihnen Nahrung. Sie glauben an Fortdauer nach dem Tode, ewigen Lohn und ewige Strafe.

I cannot confirm these statements concerning a Supreme Being and am unable to explain the term Turpí. Pohl, with whom Snethlage agrees, ascribes these doctrines to previous instruction by Jesuits from Pará.

Snethlage regards as certain a lunar and astral cult, which he infers from a nocturnal dance he attended.[209] This was performed in the plaza by men in a circle stepping first with one leg, then the other, while turning their bodies, gazing toward the sky, and repeatedly uttering the word katšere (star). I have vainly tried to get data from the Indians concerning this dance, which I never witnessed. Thus, I asked all the precentors for texts of songs containing the word in question or otherwise dealing with stars. The solitary chant which they cited again and again is that concerned with Halley's comet (p. 190). This, however, is sung in quite a different setting and exclusively during a pepyé celebration. Snethlage's visit, however, coincided with a Mummers' festival, such as I was also able to attend in 1935, but without noting anything even remotely suggested by his account. The procedure he saw then must have been of a quite special and isolated character. As a matter of fact, hardly any religious significance attaches to the stars among these Canella, whereas the moon does play a part, though by no means the principal one. Concerning animistic beliefs Snethlage reports nothing.

Fróes Abreu conceived the precentor of the nocturnal dances as a medicine-man and the performances themselves as prayers (rezas in Indian parlance). He heard of a celestial god who was the father of all humanity, but was unable to get further information. Nor was Pompeu Sobrinho able to extract relevant data. He erroneously regards the syllable vrį in pųduvrį' (büt'ëra in his orthography), moon, as a feminine suffix, whence he conjectures that a male sun and a female moon are connected with Canella religion. Finally, Abbé Étienne Ignace declares: "Ce sont des catholiques ayant conservé des practiques superstitieuses."[210]

Celestial Bodies

Compared with, say, the Guarani, the Rąmkõ'kamekra certainly have very little religion, being in this respect inferior also to the Šerénte and even to the Apinayé.

[207] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 9.
[208] Pohl, Reise, 2:209.
[209] Nordbostbras. Ind., 184.
[210] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 180 f.; Sobrinho, Merrime, 14; Ignace, Les Capiekrans, 478.

Their public cult performances may be counted on the fingers of one hand, and several years elapsed before I discovered a private act unrelated to animism.

The Sun and Moon myth of the Eastern Timbira greatly resembles that of the Apinayé[=] and Šerénte. I heard it not only among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, but also wholly or in part among the Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, Krẽyé of Bacabal, and the Krahõ'. Both characters are conceived as male and as unrelated to each other. In Rąmkõ'kamekra myth they create mankind by diving in a brook, in a Pụkóbye variant, from bottle gourds in a plantation; but in none of the other six episodes of the myth do they in any way work for the benefit of humanity. Nevertheless the Rąmkõ'kamekra regard themselves as primarily dependent on the Sun (Pụt) and in much lesser degree also on the Moon (Pụduvrí).

The purpose of all the general cult performances is to invoke the heavenly bodies to protect food plants and animals. These acts comprise prayers to the Sun for rain (p. 62), for protection of game animals (p. 71), and on behalf of wild fruits (p. 72); and to the Moon to prosper the crops when maize has grown to about 3 feet in height (p. 62).

On the other hand, there was no trace of religion at the maize-planting ceremony (p. 62), nor was the hõčwá ceremony on behalf of the sweet-potato crop at all related to Sun and Moon worship, though it does bear a magical significance (p. 63).

During the entire period of my stay I witnessed only two instances of a person's supplicating the Sun. The first time a young woman was praying for a child (p. 130); the second time I heard a mother instructing her approximately seven-year-old son, who had been ill for a long time, to invoke the Sun as follows: "Kédeti! Iymą̃ ampõ'nõ, vatoekũne iypey! (Grandfather! Give me a remedy so that I'll recover!)" Further, I learnt that, when putting the mats soiled at the delivery into the fork of a steppe tree, the mother of a lying-in woman supplicates the Sun, as stated (p. 106), to protect the newborn infant.

The prayers have no fixed text, the suppliant addressing the Sun spontaneously as though conversing with an ordinary person. Thus some address him as pa'pám, Our Father; others as Kédeti, Grandfather. I have never heard of any Rąmkõ'kamekra seeing Sun or Moon in dreams or visions.

There is little knowledge of the course of the heavenly bodies. Time is reckoned by lunar phases and by seasons (rainy and dry). They do not know how many full moons there are in a year, being handicapped by their aboriginal number system, which does not go beyond four. They do not ponder the nature of the solar body. They know approximately where the sun rises and sets during the wet and the dry season, but they do not empirically determine the solstice or use it in time reckoning.

The younger age classes, regularly assembled in the plaza at sunset, always consider it fun to expect the appearance of the new moon, each youth vying with the rest to discover it first. As soon as it is detected, everybody raises his hands and utters piercing shouts "to give pleasure to the Moon."

The moon spots are explained in Rąmkõ'kamekra myth (p. 244) and somewhat differently by the Krẽyé of Bacabal.[=] No explanation was obtained for the lunar phases.

A lunar eclipse is called pụduvrį hitjk, that is, dying of the moon. In 1935 I witnessed one and went purposely to the plaza to sleep there. Since the sky was somewhat clouded, the Indians did not notice what was going on until the darkening

[=] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 158.
[=] Nimuendajú, Vokabular und Sagen der Crengês.

1: Nimuendajú E-6 (1929-1936) 1946 208 Timbira 208

821 796 was considerably advanced. I heard one of the padntɣktíma arousing his companions and directing their attention to the phenomenon. For about five minutes they were watching without knowing what to do, then one of them ran off to bring and question an old great-uncle. At once the village grew animated, voices became audible, fires began to blaze, the chiefs and councilors assembled and summoned a precentor. Gradually the entire village foregathered in the plaza. Forming a circle round the precentor, some fifty men and youths danced unremittingly while singing, "pɣduvrį kayẽ'! pɣduvrį kayẽyẽ' riwahá neymą' pɣdupére!"

Others made bundles of from four to six large and empty gourd bottles and used them as loud rattles. In the meantime the total eclipse had set in. Round about the squares in front of all the houses huge fires were blazing.

An old man appeared, followed by two women, each leading by the hand a girl of eight or nine. The girls lay down on their backs on a mat that was extended on the plaza for them. Two or three youths made a number of incendiary arrows, wato'hą'ra, by sticking kerneled corncobs to the tips and igniting them at the fireplaces. These missiles they shot incessantly at the moon, boys picking them up again. Since the moon was in its zenith, the arrows fell back into the crowd, which had to guard against being struck by them. As soon as the moon began to reappear from the shadow, the general excitement abated, but the chanting continued until after 3 A.M., when the moon was again quite undimmed. The two girls likewise remained until then; I was told that the moon "took" them and then recovered. No subsequent obligations devolve on them.

● [171] According to Kissenberth[88] the Northern Kayapó, singing chants of lamentation and prayer, shoot burning arrows at the moon during an eclipse in order to restore its light and prevent its death, whereby it would tumble on them and destroy everyone.

821 I have never experienced a solar eclipse among the Timbira. It was interpreted to me as a struggle between sun and moon; the last time "the big star that accompanies the moon" had also taken part. In contrast to practice during a lunar eclipse no steps of any kind are taken; the people simply wait in great anxiety for the passage of the phenomenon. Children must not look at the darkened sun.

In 1910, Halley's comet caused great alarm. The Rąmkõ'kamekra were afraid of a world conflagration. At that time a precentor long since dead revived the song alluded to above (p. 190): "The star is already setting (the earth) aflame!" Usually this comet is called kačẽ'ti kamakum because its tail is conceived as smoke (kum).

Meteors (a'krą) flashing above the horizon excite little concern. Only when they pass near by are the people vaguely afraid of some noxious influence.

821 772 When a shooting star glides across the nocturnal sky it is said to be a star running to the other side of the sky to get married. Thus, they divide the heavens into exogamous moieties like those of their own village circle.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra do not distinguish the major planets and know only a few constellations, of which the Pleiades (krot) are the most important. When they become visible above the western horizon after sunset, this is taken as a sign that the rainy season is approaching and that it is time to make clearings for planting.

The Milky Way with its dark spots is interpreted as an ostrich (mąti) whose head lies below the Southern Cross. If some night this ostrich should begin humming, it indicates that humanity is to be destroyed. He has already done so once, dragging one wing over the earth and thereby killing many people. Beside him stands a babassu (rõnti; *Orbignia speciosa*), formed by the constellation Scorpion

[88] Kissenberth, Araguaya-Reise, 55.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

inclination for such communion are called kái, and their principal function is to cure and ward off disease. Of the Pōrekamekra, Pohl writes:

> Sie haben in den Pflanzen ihrer heimatlichen Wälder durch Erfahrung mehrere Heilkräuter kennen gelernt, welche sie nun bey vorkommenden Fällen anwenden. So vertreiben sie z. B. das Fieber mit einer Dorstenia fol. rodundativ. Die Syphilis, welche leider häufiger vorkommt als man vermuten sollte, ... wird blos mit häufigem Waschen behandelt. Ophthalmie zeigte sich auch sehr häufig; gegen dieses Uebel sowie gegen Schlangenbisse sollen sie auch Arcana besitzen. Zur Heilung von Wunden wird der gekaute (?) Samen der Bixa brasiliensis [= urucú] verwendet. Zauberformeln fehlen bei diesen abergläubischen Menschen natürlich ebenfalls nicht. Segenssprechungen, Zauberformeln und dergleichen werden sehr oft in ihren Krankheiten verwendet.[206]

This last method I have never witnessed.

Snethlage possibly rates Timbira medical lore too highly, but his text does not indicate which tribe he has in mind.[207] Ribeiro says:

> Curam geralmente as suas enfermidades com a sangria, e com o semente de urucú: A sangria fazem-a com uma navalha de canna verde a que chamam taboca.
>
> (In general they cure sickness by blood-letting and with urucú seeds. They let blood with a little knife of green cane called taboca.)[208]

Thus this author does not mention a blood-letting bow, as Snethlage assumes. Of all the Timbira tribes the Apinayé is the only one among whom I found this implement.

Medical lore is little developed among the Canella. The children rarely wear remedies and amulets attached to necklaces, wrist cords, or girdle cords. Since pretty nearly everyone tries his own luck at doctoring when sick, the medicine-man's role is rather subordinate. There are no pathological theories comparable to those of the Apinayé.[209] The Canella views are vacillating and confused, so that they have more confidence in Neobrazilian treatment than in their own. An enormous number of plant species yield roots, bark, and leaves for medicinal infusions, which are sometimes filtered with a wad of cotton through spirally twisted palm leaflets. During a seventeen-kilometer ride with me, Kentapí from the back of a horse pointed out some twenty steppe plants on the way and indicated their medicinal use. With such remedies, so far as I was able to learn, they attempt to cure themselves and others without following any true plan.

The manifold magico-medical application of urucú has been noted (p. 52). Another plant employed in this dual role in cases of sickness, particularly in epidemics, is the sucupira tree; the strong and odorous oil of the seeds is smelled against all conceivable diseases, especially catarrhs. Threatening epidemics are warded off by smoking oneself with the incense of the burnt green foliage of this tree or by lashing oneself with its twigs. This use rests on no medicinal virtues, but on the magical attributes of the tree, regarded by all Timbira as the symbol of strength and resistance. Another means for acquiring the toughness requisite for long begging journeys under unusual circumstances is to swallow several small grains of rolled quartz about 3 mm. in diameter from the sand of a creek.

Conjunctivitis is treated by washing the eyes with water into which the molten rosin of the jutahy tree (*Hymenaea* sp.) has been allowed to drip. Against muscular and articular pains the Indians apply an epiphyte (prĩkanyĩ'; Neobraz.: sumaré) which is steamed in hot ashes. When children at the breast fall ill, both parents drink an infusion from the bark of a steppe bush, mekakę're. The scraped bark of a small steppe tree called pekẽ'parkóp serves as a remedy for scabies, wounds on the ear loop, and head lice. Sometimes powdered charcoal is rubbed into

[206] Pohl, Reise, 2:197.
[207] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 185.
[208] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 16.
[209] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 144 *et seq.*

It seems to be a common feature

/45 cont./

177 of all Gẽ tribes that they generally assume a bluntly negative attitude toward the civilizing efforts of the Portuguese population and, however much inclined they are to accept the amenities offered to them by the Whites with respect to material things, nevertheless in other respects they continue to live in strictly conservative fashion with the traditional tribal usages and customs.

797 In this matter even a century long catechism has not been able to change anything essential.

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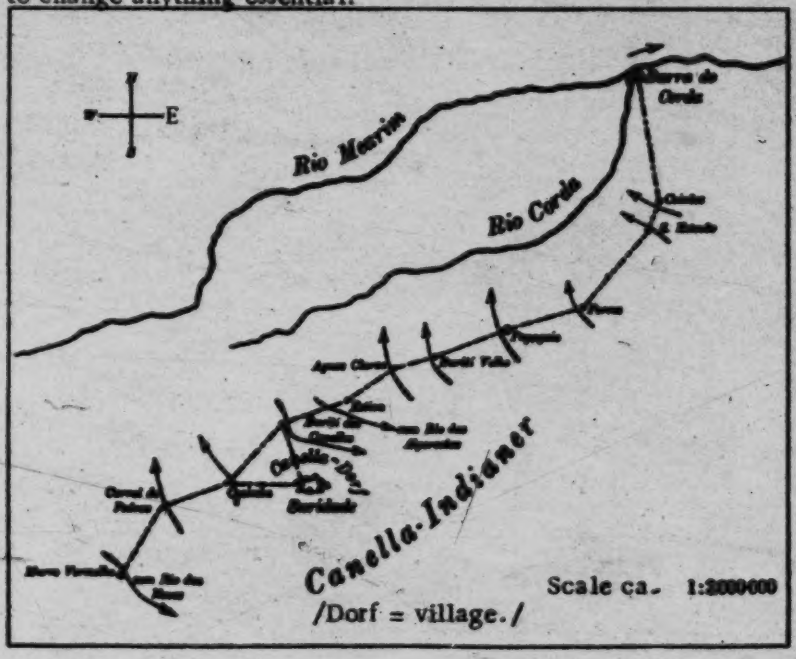

797 According to concurring mission reports, there seems to have
177 been no success at all /46/ in achieving any lasting influencing and
171 education of a Gẽ tribe in the sense of European culture.

For example, the French Dominicans on the Araguaia, according to their own statements, have been unable to exert any permanent educative influence even of only nominal value on the Kayapó /Cayapo/ during a period of almost 15 years of devoted missionary activity.

/46 cont./

114 Père Etienne Ignace (4), too, for lack of better and more

[113] 4. Père Etienne Ignace, "Les Capiekrans /The Capiecran/," 1910; in Anthropos, Vol V, pp. 477 ff.

modern sources, was forced to depend on the testimony of this Brazilian traveler for many things in his work "Les Capiekrans" (a Canella subhorde), since from personal observation he knew the Canella very little or not at all.

101 What do we really mean by Canella Indians?

[131] In the wider sense they probably corresponded in their full extent to the dense population of related Indians of the Gẽ people that was designated by Ribeiro as Timbirá, who at the time of the occupation of Maranhão by the Europeans were in uncontested possession of the country and probably a part of the coast.

101 Whereas the hordes living in the north, which it was sought
6/9 in vain to establish in villages in S. João de Penalva in the vicinity
30/ of Viana on the lower course of the Pindaré River, near Codó and
[171] Caxias on the Itapecuru River, wore as a characteristic feature
[304] enormous lip disks carved out of the soft wood of the gamelleira /Moraceae/, for which reason they were then generally called Gamellas, the related nomadic tribes living to the south of them in the center of the state were /47/ distinguished by the no less huge wooden disks fastened as adornment in the slit ear-lobes.

101 Ribeiro calls the latter tribes, together with the inhabitants of the interior, "Canellas finas" (=Indians with thin shinbones), among whom a distinction was again made between Korumekran and Kapiekran.

101 According to the account of Etienne Ignace, the Canella
36/ Kapiekrans are supposed to be divided between two centers, Grajaú
[114] and Barra do Corda, and to have four villages. At no time in
[131] Barra do Corda did I hear either the name "Capiekrans" or "Corumekrans" /illustration appears here/ as tribal designations and only ascertained this much, that the "Canella" were settled in a half-civilized state in four actually existing villages between

/47 cont./

123 Scarcely 15 minutes later there appeared before us from
[137] out of the dry underbrush of the forest, which shortly afterward
[142] changed into densely overgrown tableland, a copper-brown,
[291] frightenningly ugly, already old Canella Indian, completely naked,
[302] with long deep-black hair flowing down over his shoulders and
[304] back (4), his ear lobes slit far apart, and holding a bow and arrows
[411] in his hands.

4. The hair style of the Canella Indians corresponds exactly to that of the Pure-came-Crans /Porecamecra/, according to the description by Martius. See Ethnographie I, 287. "The Pure-came-crans wear their hair hanging down stiffly from the crown of the head to the ears and cut it here, following the curvature of the head in such a way that a furrow is formed, under which they let it grow again and fall down to the shoulders." The hair skullcap is actually the tribal badge of the Canella, and thus the supposition that the Canella of Suridade might be a remnant of the Pure-came-Crans visited by Pohl is not unjustified.

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in his hands.

123 The usual Brazilian greeting formulas, which were quite
576 familiar to the old man:
[171]

"Como passou compadre /How are you, Friend/?"

"Muito obrigado. E como vae o Senhor /Very well, thank you. And how are you, Sir/?"

"Bem /Fine/." Laconically it continues. -- The Canella: "Do you have any tobacco?"

Answer: "No. -- We are going to your village." -- "I shall go with you."

[302] Shortly afterward we met five more comrades of grotesque
[411] appearance, painted with urucú red and genipa juice, almost all armed with guns. -- Another greeting scene.

/47 cont./

302 765 The Herculean-built brother-in-law of the village chief is among them. His head is /48/ shaved. According to tribal custom he had taken his head hair as an offering to the grave of his recently deceased wife (1).

[171] [101] 1. I observed the same custom among the Mẽkubengokrä Kayapo, to the west of the sierra of Conceição do Araguaia, in whose villages I stayed in 1909.

123 [203] The news of my imminent arrival had already been announced in the village. So it came about that I, with my companion, rode into Suridade accompanied by a stately procession. [361] In the village, which is built circularly -- i e., all the huts lie [622] in a circle, the radius of which is about 100 meters -- I was taken [342] immediately to the hut of the chief, Manoel José de Santo Vaqueiro, which is not distinguished from the other nine huts by any externally visible feature.

123 622 576 [648] The chief had received the rank of major from the government and obviously put /illustration appears here/ great value on the form of address due him. My first query as to whether the "chefe da aldeia" /head of the village/ were present in the house seemed not to correspond to the customary local ritual. The alteration of my question to "Aqui está a casa do 'major' Vaqueiro /Is this the house of Major Vaqueiro/?" had, however, the immediate result of a reply, "estou prompto" /this is it/, uttered rapidly several times.

And at once the ruler of the village emerged from under the low entrance, in front of which lay a large log of wood.

622 292 And how he looked! He had clad himself in his most elegant finery.

A black dinner-jacket hung loosely against white trousers on his thin figure.

On his head sat a colored double-peaked soldier's cap, which, as he recounted with a pompous air, had been bestowed upon him by the governor as a badge of his rank --

/48 cont./

352 Along the entire wall opposite the entrance, about ten
513 meters long, stood the girao (3), which was meant for the family

[171]

3. The custom of sleeping on wooden platforms is peculiar to many tribes of the Gẽ group; among others, according to the Mẽkubengokrã, to the Sikrĩ dwelling in the source area of the Rio Branco, an upper right tributary of the Itacayunas, who, incidentally, are said to have given up their nomadic life, live in solidly built huts, and have extensive plantings.

and the nearest relatives of the chief as a place to sleep.

352 /49/ By means of buriti-mat partitions /illustration appears here/ three "separate chambers" had been created on the platform, which, at my entrance, were densely occupied by men and women.

526 The Canella Indians, men as well as women, represent in general
[142] a handsome, well-proportioned type of human being, which is no longer surprising when one knows that they zealously pursue the practice of gymnastic exercises. According to the account of a reliable man from Barra do Corda, they beat out a path up to two kilometers long through the forest for this purpose, make the path completely level, and exercise on the track thus created, principally by running races. The physical exercises are said to last often from morning until evening almost without interruption.

582 Only the young man who has passed certain tests of strength and skill in order to prove that he is in a position to feed and protect his family is able to marry.

291 Only the chief wore clothing which probably, unused for a
[622] long time, had been hidden away very neatly in a calabash or in one of the many small baskets hanging on the walls.

All the other inhabitants and onlookers were unclothed, with the exception of the women and a few men, who concealed their lower bodies with improvised loincloths.

/51/

415 No. 3. Container (marímba) made out of the fruit shell
[824] of a Crescentia species (calabash tree). It is used for storing ornament feathers. (Fig. 1, /see p. 13/, 3.)

534 No. 4. Dance rattle (maraká) It consists essentially of
824] a fruit shell of a Crescentia species, pierced in the long axis by a carved wooden handle and containing some rattle-pebbles. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 5.)

No. 5. Musical instrument (1) (patuwe), a kind of signal horn, consisting of a calabash fruit 54 centimeters long, hollowed out and furnished with openings on both sides, in one of which a taquara /bamboo/ tube with a blowhole on the side in the manner of our transverse flutes has been inserted as a mouthpiece by means of hard wax. (Fig. 2, 9.)

[471]

[113]

1. A specimen corresponding precisely to this instrument is in the Ehrenreich Karajá Collection in the Berlin Kgl. Museum für Volkerkunde. Cf. Veröffentlichungen des Kgl. Museums für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," p. 24.

[237] No. 6. Signal horn (hãhí). Into the taquara-tube mouth-
386] piece, which also shows a blowhole on the side, an ox horn is in-
[531] serted by means of beeswax and cotton lacing which ends in red-dyed fringes about 15 centimeters long. The mouthpiece is artistically enclosed by a black-yellow plaited decoration. (Fig.
301 2, 2.) /Fig. 2 appears here./
824 No. 7. Arm rings rolled out of palm-leaf strips (batsé), to be worn on the upper arm. (Fig. 2, 12.)

386 No. 8. Dye sample (pú), urucú kneaded together with clay.
302 Used for painting the face and body. (Fig. 2, 6.)

535 No. 9. Swinging sticks (klõwa) with vulture-feather deco-
[237] ration at one end. According to the interpretation of the chief,
[114] which seems really rather doubtful to me, they are supposed to

/51 cont./
301 piereed and systematically enlarged holes of the ear lobes (3).
304 (Fig. 2, /see p. 15/, 15.)

[171] 3. Compare with this the similarly shaped ear-rolls observed by Karl von den Steinen among the Suyá of the Xingu, made like a tapeline out of the wide leaf-strips of the bacaba palm, with a diameter of 7 centimeters, leaf width 1.5 centimeters. See Durch Zentralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886, p. 207.

[113]

301 No. 14. Ear ornament, as before, but of somewhat smaller dimensions. With a circumference of 21 centimeters, the thickness of the ring-shaped ear-disks is 2 centimeters, their diameter 6 centimeters. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 1.)

[286] No. 15. Woven upper-arm ornament (ipaǩ̃ę̃) with woolen tassels. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 6.)

482 No. 16. Carrying baskets with a square base and a forehead-
285 tumpline plaited out of buriti fibers (4). (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 13.)

[171] 4. An exactly analogous basket model is found among the Kayapó of the Araguaia.

126 /52/The following brief word-list was recorded directly from
174 the Canella Indians and permits one, by comparing it with the
[197 corresponding words of Ehrenreich's Gradahõ vocabulary (1) and of
114]

[113] 1. See Ehrenreich, Materialen zur Sprachenkunde /Linguistic Materials/.

the Mẽkubengokrã word-list recorded by me, to recognize a very close linguistic relationship with the Kayapó tribes of the Araguaia, whose separation from the main body of the Gẽ nation on the other side of the Tocantins may well have taken place in not too far distant times.

/53 cont./

Word-list

192
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Abbreviations: E = Ehrenreich, K = Kissenberth

batsé,	Arm rings of buriti leaf-strips	
buzina (Port.)	Signal horn	
gṍ (kṍ)	Water	E. ***ṅgō,*** K. ***ṅṍ***
gō-gatę́	River	E. ***ṅgōrameď,*** K. ***ṅō-rát***
goχę́	Fire	E. ***kūi, kuuę,*** K. ***kú(u)ę***
gukon-krṹte	Musical instrument	K. ***ṅō-kón,*** calabash
hãhį́,	Trumpet of ox-horn and mouthpiece with plaiting over it	
hakró	Neck ornament	K. ***kr(u)ęi-yamu-yakrṍ,*** neck ornament of parrot feathers
hõ-krá	Hand	E. ***i-nikra,*** finger, K. ***i-ńikrá***
hõa-tọ́	Tongue	E. ***i-ńoto,*** K. ***i-ńo-tṍ***
hũkōkō	Animal claws	
ikọ́	Skin	E. ***ka*** K. ***ikạ́***
ikrę́	House	E. ***kikrē*** K. ***kikrę́***
katú	Straw mat	E. ***kupip*** K. ***kúpip***
klọ́wa	Dance equipment, feather-decorated clapper-sticks	
kọ́ppo (kṍ)	Club	E. ***kō*** K. ***kō, kōp***
krõi-yapú	Parrot tail-feather	E. ***krueíti,*** parrot, large species ***krueíra,*** parrot, small species K. ***kr(u)ęi-yamú***

192 /53 cont./
171

krúa	Arrow	E. *krúa* K. *krúa*
kuhẽ́	Bow	E. *dždzdžã* K. *ǰuǰé*
kūi	Ear ornament	
kupémba	Sieve	
kχẹiré	Amulet against sore throat, consisting of two small pieces of wood hung on a woolen thread around the neck	
kχ́ẹ́n	Stone	E. *kẽn, kãn* K. *kén*
lõ̤ap	Dog	E. *rãb prã, rõb-prã* K. *ro(b)prẽ́*, often *rõ̤bre*
maraká	Dance rattle	E. *ṅgõ-taď* K. *ṅõ-tõ̤(i)t'*
marimba	Feather container	
i-pačẹ́	Arm ornament	E. *i-pa*, upper arm K. *í-pa-ǰe*
panella (Port.)	Pot	E. *ṅgõ-i* K. *ṅõ-í* (= water-bones)
i-pár(i)	Foot	E. *i-pãri* K. *i-pãri*
patuwẹ́	Trumpet of gourd shell	E. *ṅgõ-i* K. *ńõ-í*
pẹ́n	Honey	E. *madn* K. *mẹ́ń, mẹ́(id)n*
pụ	Urucú (Bixa orellana)	K. *pụ́*
purẹ́	Moon	E. *muturãre* K. *mụt-turúẹ-re*

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192 *pụt*	Sun	E. *mūt* K. *mụ̊t*
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rorẹ̄-tsị́	Cotton string, cf.	*ñī-kra-ǰe*, cotton string with tassels, to wear around the body
tapití	Manioc squeezer (tube-shaped)	
teap	Fish	E. *tāpe* K. *tẽ̆p*
bučití	One	E. *meomdī*, *podži* one finger (Botocudo: *podžik*)
d͡aikrūt(u)	Two	E. *ameīkrūt*, *mākrūt* K. *amaikrut*
donkré	Three	E. *ameīkrut-ne-padži*
donkré	Three	K. *amaikrut-ne-ikiekẹd*
d͡aikrutpai	Four	E. =many *adžuā-komeḏ* K. *amaikrut-ne-ámaikrut*
toχọkẹ́te	Five	K. *amaikrut ne-amaikrut ne-ikíekẹd*
hịkotonočí	Six	K. *amaikrut ne-amaikrut ne-ámaikrut*
inō	Seven	
hịpéri	Eight	
hokát(e)ne	Nine	

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Kamairahó's house, they renewed their mutual holds and smiled graciously at each other (1).

1. In a letter of February 20, 1936, Curt Nimuendajú wrote to me about the Timbira, a Gê tribe: "The Timbira also have a paired race across the village plaza (which is 300 meters in diameter). It is usually held following a more important ceremony. It is called ka-kaípúa (ka, 'village plaza,' and kaipúa, 'across')."

Ta 526 Later, some of the men also took part in the test, even the "old hunter" Kantxovanî. When darkness fell, they all went home. Only a dozen pairs had run altogether, for they had started out when the sun had already sunk behind the forest.

Ta 476 [535] [526] [111] On the following afternoon there was another apatxirú at a different spot. The participants were so few that there was no dancing or racing. Two days later, a bigger apatxirú was held with all the features, this time to the northwest of the village. Thus, apatxirú are held on different days and at different places. Not all the men take part. Some work for themselves in their gardens, and others stay home. [Ed., Plates 1-26 are omitted since they concern tribes other than the Tapirapé.]